



*PATTERNS OF CIVIL-MILITARY RELATIONS IN AFRICA  
AND LATIN AMERICA: AN ANNOTATED BIBLIOGRAPHY*

Accession For	
NTIS CRA&I	<input checked="checked" type="checkbox"/>
DTIC TAB	<input type="checkbox"/>
Unannounced	<input type="checkbox"/>
Justification	
By	
Distribution/	
Availability Codes	
Dist	Avail and/or Special
A-1	

Federal Research Division  
Library of Congress  
Washington, DC 20540

January 4, 1993  
Project manager: Tim Merrill  
Analysts: Ramón Miró  
Joshua Sinai

19951222 026

REPORT DOCUMENTATION PAGE			Form Approved OMB No. 0704-0188	
Public reporting burden for this collection of information is estimated to average 1 hour per response, including the time for reviewing instructions, searching existing data sources, gathering and maintaining the data needed, and completing and reviewing the collection of information. Send comments regarding this burden estimate or any other aspect of this collection of information, including suggestions for reducing this burden, to Washington Headquarters Services, Directorate for Information Operations and Reports, 1215 Jefferson Davis Highway, Suite 1204, Arlington, VA 22202-4302, and to the Office of Management and Budget, Paperwork Reduction Project (0704-0188), Washington, DC 20503.				
1. AGENCY USE ONLY (Leave Blank)	2. REPORT DATE  January 1993	3. REPORT TYPE AND DATES COVERED  Final		
4. TITLE AND SUBTITLE  Patterns of Civil-Military Relations in Africa and Latin America: An Annotated Bibliography			5. FUNDING NUMBERS	
6. AUTHOR(S)  Ramón Miró Joshua Sinai				
7. PERFORMING ORGANIZATION NAME(S) AND ADDRESS(ES)  Federal Research Division Library of Congress Washington, DC 20540-5220			8. PERFORMING ORGANIZATION REPORT NUMBER	
9. SPONSORING/MONITORING AGENCY NAME(S) AND ADDRESS(ES)  N/A			10. SPONSORING/MONITORING AGENCY REPORT NUMBER	
11. SUPPLEMENTARY NOTES  Prepared under an Interagency Agreement				
12a. DISTRIBUTION/AVAILABILITY STATEMENT  Approved for public release; distribution unlimited.			12b. DISTRIBUTION CODE	
13. ABSTRACT (Maximum 200 words)  English- and foreign-language literature review of civil-military affairs during the periods of political liberalization in Latin America since the early 1980s and Sub-Saharan Africa since the late 1980s. Each entry includes a full bibliographic citation, an abstract of the publication's contents, and keywords.				
14. SUBJECT TERMS  Africa (Sub-Saharan) Latin America Civil-military relations			15. NUMBER OF PAGES  155	
			16. PRICE CODE	
17. SECURITY CLASSIFICATION OF REPORT  UNCLASSIFIED	18. SECURITY CLASSIFICATION OF THIS PAGE  UNCLASSIFIED	19. SECURITY CLASSIFICATION OF ABSTRACT  UNCLASSIFIED	20. LIMITATION OF ABSTRACT  SAR	

NSN 7540-01-280-5500

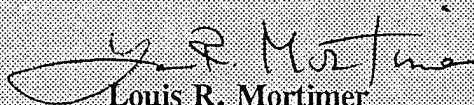
Standard Form 298 (Rev. 2-89)  
Prescribed by ANSI Std Z39-18  
298-102

Dear Reader:

This product was prepared by the staff of the *Federal Research Division* of the *Library of Congress* under an interagency agreement with the sponsoring United States Government agency.

The Federal Research Division is the Library of Congress's primary fee-for-service research unit. At the request of Executive and Judicial branch agencies of the United States Government and on a cost-recovery basis, the Division prepares studies and reports, chronologies, bibliographies, foreign-language abstracts, and other tailored products in hard-copy and electronic media. The subjects researched include the broad spectrum of social sciences, physical sciences, and the humanities.

For additional information on obtaining the research and analytical services of the Federal Research Division, please call 202/707-9905, fax 202/707-9920, via Internet [frd@mail.loc.gov](mailto:frd@mail.loc.gov), or write to *Marketing Coordinator, Federal Research Division, Library of Congress, Washington, DC 20540-5220*.



Louis R. Mortimer

Chief

Federal Research Division

Library of Congress

Washington, DC 20540-5220

## PREFACE

Political liberalization in sub-Saharan Africa since the late 1980s has heralded a period of turmoil and change in the region unmatched since the independence movements of the 1960s. In trying to understand these changes, many analysts and politicians have looked to a similar democratization movement that swept Latin America in the early 1980s. This annotated bibliography provides coverage of articles on the democratization experiences of African and Latin American nations and the changing attitudes among their militaries to this democratization. English- and foreign-language literature has been screened. The research focuses on the evolving pattern of civil-military relations and the new roles of the militaries in a democratic society. The entries are arranged by region, then alphabetically by author. Each entry contains keywords.



## Africa

Abasa-Nyarko, Charles. The Economic Performance of Civilian and Military Regimes: Ghana, 1957-1985. (Ph.D. dissertation, University of South Carolina, 1988.) Ann Arbor, Michigan: University Microfilms International, AAC8817541.

The dissertation examines the merits and demerits of economic performance by civilian and military regimes, with particular emphasis on Ghana where military regimes have always rationalized their rule on the merits of military intervention. Ghana also presents an interesting case study because of the frequent change of regimes from civilian to military since independence. In three decades, a succession of seven civilian and military regimes has occurred, with each claiming it would perform better than the other. In certain cases, some regimes were short-lived, ranging from two years to nine years in office. The second chapter reviews the literature on military versus civilian regimes and economic performance.

It also looks at the comparison of military and civilian regimes' economic performance in general and in Africa in particular. The fifth chapter assesses the economic performance of the two types of regimes by using descriptive statistical data to evaluate the performance of each type of regime. The statistical analysis provides empirical evidence to support or refute theoretical allegations of the two schools of thought.

Keyword(s): Ghana; civil-military relations

Abo, Klevor. "West Africa" Radical Democrat: Tavio Amarin, Victim of High-Profile Political Gangsterism?, No. 3910, August 24-30, 1992, 1442.

The article discusses the implications of the assassination of Tavio Amarin, first secretary of the Pan-African Socialist Party and president of the political and human rights commission of Togo's interim parliament, who died in Paris on July 29, 1992. Amarin was a leading critic of Togo's President, General Eyadema. Before his death, he declared that the country's army "must quickly clean itself up, get rid of those who have been involved in crimes, assassinations, and embezzlement. Once that is done, once Eyadema leaves the army, that institution-like

all other arms of the republic-will be put to the service of the nation and there won't be any problem." Following an outcry over Amarin's assassination, as well as the murders of other political opponents, President Eyadema reluctantly accepted opposition demands for a national conference to discuss the country's constitutional future.

Keyword(s): civil-military relations; democracy; Togo

Abo, Klevor. "Eyadema Again: Transition Within Transition," West Africa, No. 3915, September 28-October 4, 1992, 1609.

The article examines the ability of General Eyadema, Togo's president, to recapture the powers that had been stripped from him by the country's sovereign national conference. The RPT (Reassemblement du Peuple Togolais), Eyadema's political party, formerly the country's single political party, has also succeeded in gaining control of the key ministries of defense and interior. Controlling these two ministries is important because of their role in organizing the next constitutional referendum in addition to the municipal, legislative, and presidential elections agreed upon by a joint commission composed of Eyadema's allies, Prime Minister Joseph Kokou Koffigoh's government, and the opposition parties. The article concludes by questioning whether in the forthcoming elections Eyadema would accept the electoral victory of any of his opponents.

Keyword(s): civil-military relations; Togo

Adamolekun, Ladipo, and John Kincaid. "The Federal Solution: Assessment and Prognosis for Nigeria and Africa" Publius: The Journal of Federalism, 21, No. 4, Fall 1991, 173-188.

The article examines the federal government of Nigeria, focusing on the principal challenges facing the country: national unity, democratic politics, and socioeconomic development. The authors maintain that while in countries where military governments rule, which by definition involves "arbitrariness and authoritarianism," in Nigeria the majority of military leaders have been committed to

democracy and federalism because the ingredients of freedom of expression, freedom of association, and the rule of law have been internalized in the country's emerging political culture. At the same time, the Nigerian population's tolerance of military regimes has been contingent on the military's commitment to federalism and at least minimal respect for democratic politics. The authors conclude that it is not clear whether the current transition program from military to civilian rule sufficiently emphasizes federal democracy as opposed to national democracy.

Keyword(s): civil-military relations; democracy; Nigeria

Adamolekun, Ladipo, and Victor Ayeni. "Nigeria." Pages 258-288 in Public Administration in the Third World: An International Handbook. Ed., V. Subramaniam. New York: Greenwood Press, 1990.

The chapter on public administration in Nigeria includes a discussion on General Babangida's plan to return the country from military to civilian rule in 1992. This is an elaborate, multifaceted program affecting all sectors of society. First, two additional states were created. Second, an executive presidential system, similar to the American model, was adopted. Third, civil service ministries were reorganized and professionalized. Finally, multiparty elections were scheduled for 1992.

Keyword(s): Nigeria; civil-military relations; democracy

Adamolekun, Ladipo. "Introduction: Federalism in Nigeria" Publius: The Journal of Federalism, 21, No. 4, Fall 1991, 1-11.

The article discusses the evolution of Nigeria's federal system of government and the role that the military has played in its development. The federal system evolved as a result of two events in the 1960s: the introduction of military rule in January 1966 and the civil-war of 1967-70. The article examines the role of federalism in the proposed transition from military to civilian rule

originally scheduled for October 1992, particularly the new provisions calling for a mandatory two-party system, increased autonomy for local governments, and enhancement of the financial independence of the judiciary. Whatever civil administration takes power, it will have to contend with the transformation by the military of the country's federal system, namely the increase in the number of states from nineteen to thirty and the raise in the number of local governments from 304 to 589. The author concludes that this has led to weakening the thirty state governments vis-a-vis the federal government, especially in economic matters.

Keyword(s): civil-military relations; democracy; Nigeria

Adeniran, Tunde. "The Transition Programme," The Quarterly Journal of Administration, 24, No. 3, April 1990, 259-67.

The article discusses the transition from military to civilian rule in Nigeria. The author points out that the transition program is a learning process that requires additional articulation, monitoring, and coordination among the different parties involved to ensure long-term sustainability by the Third Republic's civilian rulers. The author concludes that the decisions made by the Armed Forces Revolutionary Council (AFRC) and the actions of the government will determine the degree of success of the transition from military to civilian rule.

Keyword(s): civil-military relations; democracy; Nigeria

Africa Watch. Kenya: Taking Liberties. New York: Africa Watch, July 1991.

Although Kenya has been subjected to intense international pressure to democratize its political system, the country's security forces continue systematically to abuse the law and demonstrate complete disregard for the constitution. The country's armed forces in areas where they are stationed abuse the local residents with impunity. There is also extensive corruption and lack of accountability throughout these services.

Keyword(s): Africa; human rights; civil-military relations

Agbese, Pita Ogaba. "Demilitarization and Prospects for Democracy in Nigeria," Bulletin of Peace Proposals, 22, 1991, 315-27.

The article focuses on Nigeria where military leaders are voluntarily relinquishing power to their civilian counterparts. This is part of a general process of democratization sweeping the African continent. However, the author cautions that militaries still constitute one of the most formidable obstacles to democratization in the continent, and that demilitarization by itself will not automatically result in democracy in the face of the region's extensive militarization. In the case of Nigeria, the author contends that the prospects for real democracy remain bleak so long as extensive measures are not undertaken to demilitarize society.

Keyword(s): civil-military relations; Nigeria

Agbese, Pita Ogaba. "Sanitizing Democracy in Nigeria," TransAfrica Forum, 9, Spring 1992, 41-55.

The article discusses the prospects for the return to civilian rule in Nigeria by the end of 1992. The military regime had announced that the Third Republic's civilian regime, inaugurated in 1993, would not be as corrupt and inept as previous civilian governments. It therefore decreed regulations ostensibly intended to restore morality and ethics in government. The article discusses the most far-reaching decree--Decree No. 25, whose intended impact the author contends will fail because it addresses the symptoms rather than the roots of the problem of Nigerian politics.

Keyword(s): civil-military relations; democracy; Nigeria

Ahire, Philip Terdoo. Imperial Policing: The Emergence and Role of the Police in Colonial Nigeria, 1860-1960. Philadelphia: Open University Press, 1991.

The book, part of a new directions in criminology series, analyzes the evolution of the national police force in Nigeria during the period 1860-1960, providing background for understanding the nature of the Nigerian police in the contemporary period.

Keyword(s): civil-military relations; police; Nigeria

Amihere, Kabral Blay, and Alan Rake. "Rawlings on Top," New African, No. 303, December 1992, 14-15.

The article reports on the triumph by Head of State Flight Lieutenant Jerry John Rawlings in the November presidential elections, which have been criticized by opposition parties as rigged. Nevertheless, according to the authors, it would not be wise for the opposition parties to boycott the December 8th parliamentary elections because this would enable Rawlings' National Democratic Party to sweep the vote, thus further weakening the already fragmented opposition. At the same time, the authors point out that even under the present circumstances of vote rigging the political environment in Ghana has already changed. In the future, Rawlings will rule with a parliament, an independent judiciary, a free press, and a more outspoken middle class. It is therefore up to the opposition to defend the new democratic system.

Keyword(s): civil-military relations; democracy; Ghana

Ammons, Lila Faye. Consequences of War on African Countries' Social and Economic Development. (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Maryland at College Park, 1989.) Ann Arbor, Michigan: University Microfilms International, AAC8924123.

The dissertation examines the effects of war in Africa, particularly whether war deters, propels, or has no influence on social and economic development. Data on this issue are examined with the primary objective of

determining which effect is most likely in the African context. Data on African states between 1960 and 1983 are analyzed using quasi-experimental design techniques to compare warring with nonwarring countries. Thus, the independent variable for this study is the presence of war, which is defined as violent hostilities involving sovereign states where there are at least 1,000 military troops participating in combat and a minimum of 1,000 battle related deaths. Indicators of social and economic development, i.e. infant mortality, life expectancy, gross domestic product and medical personnel, are measured three years before and after the war to allow for examination of the relative growth of warring versus nonwarring countries between the pre- and post-war period. The analysis of the variables individually provide support for the hypothesis of the study since they show that nonwarring countries seem to display more growth than the warring countries over the selected time period, at least in terms of gross domestic product and infant mortality. However, when the effect on these variables is examined simultaneously, war seems to have little or no effect on changes in the measures of development over the selected time period. An historical analysis, conducted to further clarify the results, reveals the following: development in nonwarring countries seems to have been slowed down by refugees from countries with wars, economic upheavals, high population growth rates, and outside intervention or serious natural disasters, and nonwarring countries have experienced low intensity and/or protracted social conflict to the degree that these could have served to disrupt their development. The study shows that one of the most urgent future research needs is the reanalysis of data using the same methodology and an expanded definition of war to allow for consideration of the endemic and potentially damaging low-intensity conflicts in the classification of warring countries.

Keyword(s): civil-military relations; social development; economic development

Anderson, Gary Charles. The Legal Classification of Military Tribunals as Courts of Law. (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Pretoria, 1989).

The dissertation investigates the system of military tribunals in South Africa to ascertain whether these tribunals can properly be described as courts of law. This investigation entails an analysis of the relevant legislation against the background of the traditional distinction of the three branches of government vis-a-vis the legislature, the executive, and the judiciary. The doctrine of the separation of powers is accepted as the foundation of the distinction among the three branches of government. In discussing the question, a comparison is also made of the advantages and disadvantages of tribunals vis-a-vis traditional courts. After weighing the different arguments the author concludes that military tribunals will in all probability not qualify as courts of law.

Keyword(s): South Africa; civil-military relations

Andersson, Hilary. Mozambique: A War against the People. New York: St. Martin's Press, 1992.

The book discusses the impact of the war waged by Renamo against the government in Mozambique prior to the recent signing of a peace accord. It argues that the Renamo rebels lack an allegiance to democracy or any particular political system, as demonstrated by their failure to adhere to past ceasefire agreements. The author concludes that Renamo leaders in their present form must undergo a radical transformation in their political orientation in the near future in order for democracy to take hold in Mozambique.

Keyword(s): Mozambique; civil-military relations; democracy

Ankomah, Baffour. "With Taylor Inside Liberia," New African, No. 301, October 1992, 11-15.

The article is based on a month-long stay by the author in Liberia, in which he interviewed Charles Taylor, Economic Community of West African States Monitoring Group (ECOMOG) officials and top ministers of the two governments vying



for control of the country. The author believes that Taylor, leader of the main rebel group, the National Patriotic Forces of Liberia (NPFL), will not cease his rebellion as long as he is under attack by the United Liberation Movement (Ulimo, which is made up of former President Doe's Krahn soldiers), and that there can be no solution to Liberia's problems and no withdrawal of ECOMOG forces unless Taylor's position is taken into account. The article also examines other political and military forces contending for control of Liberia.

Keyword(s): civil-military relations; Liberia

Anokwa, Kwadwo. Editorial Patterns of Ghanaian Daily Newspapers: A Study of Press Performance Under Civilian and Military Regimes in Ghana. (Ph.D. dissertation, Michigan State University, 1991.) Ann Arbor, Michigan: University Microfilms International, AAC9134087.

The dissertation examines the functioning of the Ghanaian newspapers under eight distinct regimes (since 1957, when the country achieved independence), five of them military and three civilian. Control of the two state-owned newspapers has changed hands from civilian regimes, which came to power through constitutional channels and democratic elections, to military regimes, which circumvented constitutional channels and took power through coups d'etat or force of arms. The dissertation attempts to determine whether differences in regime types and styles of press control influence the editorial content and direction of the state-owned press. This is important because regime differences may have far-reaching implications for the development of the press in Ghana and elsewhere in Africa. Editorials appearing in Ghana's two mass circulating daily newspapers, the Daily Graphic, or the People's Daily Graphic and the Ghanaian Times were content-analyzed from 1980 to 1983. The period includes two successive regimes: the civilian regime of Dr. Hilla Limann and the ruling military regime of Flt. Lt. Jerry Rawlings. The content analysis results and chi square tests show that editorials of Ghana's state-owned newspapers varied significantly with each regime type. The data show that the more Ghana's developmental press system is subject to libertarian-tending methods of press

control (as exemplified by the style of press control of the Limann civilian regime), the more the editorials emphasize domestic politics, national and "people-oriented" issues, government sources, informative subjects, and criticism of government. In contrast, the more Ghana's press system is subject to authoritarian-tending methods of press control (as exemplified by the style of press control under the ruling military regime of Rawlings), the more the state-owned press editorials emphasize economics, international and "institution-oriented" issues, nongovernment sources, argumentative subjects, and praise of government. The most frequent editorials published under both civilian and military regimes deal with domestic politics and economics. This fact may be attributed to the increasing dissatisfaction of Ghanaians with the unsettling political upheavals and the chaotic economic situation in Ghana.

Keyword(s): Ghana; civil-military relations

Asuagbor, Greg Ojong. Comparing Explanations for Military Expenditure in Sub-Saharan Africa. (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Nevada at Reno, 1990).

The dissertation examines specific reasons for the low level of economic growth in sub-Saharan Africa. It discusses the impact of military expenditure on economic growth, using four countries as a sample. These countries are compared over a period of five years (1980-85), using military expenditure (milex) as a percentage of gross domestic product (GDP) and rate of growth of GDP. In order to clarify the motive for defense expenditure, the determinants of military expenditure are discussed, and each country is classified in a matrix. The author concludes that milex as a single government expenditure item cannot affect economic growth without considering the implications of military activities that create instability.

Keyword(s): civil-military relations; military expenditure

Attah, Okon Efiong. The Role of African Soldiers in Politics: New Directions in Comparing Civilian and Military Regimes. (Ph.D. dissertation, Washington University, 1989.) Ann Arbor, Michigan: University Microfilms International, AAC9027391.

The dissertation attempts to answer the question whether it is useful for purposes of political analysis to treat the military in Africa as a distinct category in contrast to civilians. This study bases its assessment of the performance of the military as governors on their stated intentions as articulated in the initial declarations made during the takeover of power. Issues examined include 'stability,' human rights violations, corruption, unemployment, agricultural production and traditional symbols. Among the countries considered are Benin, Burkina Faso, Congo, Ghana, Libya, Niger, Nigeria, Somalia, Sudan and Uganda. The period covered ranges from 1960 to 1984. The study argues that given the fragility of state arrangements, African leaders, in the long run, and despite initial declarations and intentions, become preoccupied with their own security and survival. They tend to view opposition with considerable disfavor, and are wary of waging a sustained war against corruption for fear of incurring the wrath of significant and powerful segments of the society. With respect to the militaries' promises to increase economic performance and lower unemployment, their policy record overall appears not much better or worse than their civilian predecessors, successors, or contemporaries. African soldier-politicians continue to use traditional symbols, viewed by them as a powerful means for bolstering support and legitimacy. In general, and as a trend, there is no significant difference between the policy performance of soldier and civilian politicians.

Keyword(s): civil-military relations; democracy

Ayeni, Olugbenga. "Nigeria's Search for Democracy," West Africa, No. 3924, November 30-December 6, 1992, 2048-49.

The article argues that when an elected civilian government finally takes power in Nigeria it should realize that if it makes mistakes or misgoverns, the

military will always remain in the wings waiting to take over power again. It also reports on "booby traps" that have been placed by the military government during the transition period. These traps include banning political parties from competing in elections and extending the date for handing over power to a civilian government from January to August 1993; they have already caused many casualties.

Keyword(s): civil-military relations; democracy; Nigeria

Ayeni, Olugbenga. "Nigeria-1: Transition Setback?," West Africa, No. 3919, October 26-November 1, 1992, 1819-20.

The article reports on the implications of the suspension of presidential primaries in Nigeria by the ruling Armed Forces Revolutionary Council (AFRC). There was also dismay over the arbitrary decision by the AFRC to dissolve the national, state, and local government executives of two leading opposition parties, with caretaker committees appointed to run the affairs of the political parties. To critics, this move masks the real intention of the AFRC to extend the date on which the military regime is scheduled to relinquish power to a civilian government beyond January 1993 to perhaps March of that year.

Keyword(s): civil-military relations; democracy; Nigeria

Ayeni, Olugbenga. "Nigeria: Transition Credibility Crisis?," West Africa, No. 3923, November 23-29, 1992, 2012-14.

The article discusses the credibility crisis engulfing Nigeria's military government brought on by its decision to cancel the presidential primaries; the crisis is threatening the promised transition from military to civilian rule. The article elaborates on President Babangida's forty-five-page statement, announced on November 16, in which he extended the transition timetable for handing over power to a civilian government to August 27, 1993, seven months after the initial January 1993 date. Babangida's speech also dealt with his decision to

ban all twenty-three politicians who had taken part in the canceled presidential primaries.

Keyword(s): civil-military relations; democracy; Nigeria

Ayeni, Olugbenga. "The Journey So Far," West Africa, No. 3915, September 28-October 4, 1992, 1612-13.

The article analyzes the course Nigeria is taking after thirty-two years of independence. From 1960 until 1992, the military has ruled the country at different intervals for a total of twenty-two years, indicating that democracy is not firmly rooted. This is why the announcement that the country will return to civilian rule has generated so much concern. There is consensus, nevertheless, even within the military, that the task of governance should be left to civilian politicians. The author concludes by questioning whether President Babangida will agree to hand over government "to just anybody." The next few months will provide that answer.

Keyword(s): civil-military relations; democracy; Nigeria

Ayittey, George B.N.. Indigenous African Institutions. Ardley-on Hudson, New York: Transnational, 1991.

Ayittey discusses precolonial and postcolonial Africa, including the issue of participatory democracy. The author contrasts traditional African society as well as colonial rule and the current one-man military dictatorships. He concludes that dictatorships by African elites have destroyed indigenous African institutions, while squandering human resources and diverting foreign aid funds to their private foreign bank accounts.

Keyword(s): Africa; civil-military relations; political development

Ayittey, George B. Africa Betrayed. New York: St. Martin's Press, 1992.

The book is an indictment of political and economic tyranny in sub-Saharan Africa, particularly the plundering by native African leaders of their nations' economies and national treasuries, outlawing rival political parties, abolishing elections, and detaining political opponents. The author believes that their statist policies have produced enormous poverty and violations of human rights. Sections of the book are devoted to a discussion of military regimes in Africa. The author concludes that the solution to Africa's problems lies in uncovering the continent's liberal roots.

Keyword(s): democracy; civil-military relations

Azonga, Tikum Mbah. "Cameroon: Show of Strength," West Africa, No. 3910, August 24-30, 1992, 1439-40.

The article discusses the dismissal by president Paul Biya of General Benoit Asso'o Emame as the Supreme Commander of the Yaounde Military Headquarters on July 17, 1992. General Asso'o's firing reportedly was caused by the publication of his book, which was highly critical of president Biya's regime. He criticized the military, which he said suffered from inadequate training and was led by a hierarchy that was extremely lax in its discipline. In Cameroon such criticism was taken seriously because the military are duty-bound to shun politics. The article concludes that General Asso'o's anger with the Biya regime may lead to a coup attempt in the near future.

Keyword(s): civil-military relations; Cameroon

Azonga, Tikum Mbah. "Cameroon: Uneasy Calm," West Africa, No. 3919, October 26-November 1, 1992, 1825.

The article reports on the attempt by the government of President Paul Biya to ensure his victory at the recently held presidential elections by deploying army troops to

parts of the country where the opposition receives much support. It also discusses a number of possible scenarios, including an announcement by the opposition alliance that it is forming its own government to ensure that "Biya doesn't rob them of a victory which is theirs."

Also mentioned is a possible takeover of the country, although sections of the army would find themselves pitted against each other, thus leading to a civil war. The article concludes that the country appears to be heading for a major clash between these rival forces.

Keyword(s): civil-military relations; Cameroon

Babangida, Ibrahim Badamusi. Portrait of a New Nigeria: Selected Speeches of IBB. Lagos: Precision Press, 1989.

The book is a compilation of Nigerian president Ibrahim Badamasi Babangida's major speeches. Three speeches in particular discuss civil-military relations: "Contending Approaches To The Role of the Military in Politics," "The Military and Public Affairs Under Military Rule," and "The Armed Forces Consultative Assembly and The Polity."

Keyword(s): Nigeria; civil-military relations; democracy

Babangida, Ibrahim. "Presidency...Not for Sale," West Africa, No. 3924, November 30-December 6, 1992, 2049.

This is an excerpt from the November 16, 1992 televised address by Nigerian President Ibrahim Babangida on the revised transition program from military to civilian rule. It announces his decision to cancel the presidential primaries and dissolve the Executive Committees of the two opposition parties, as well as to change the nomination process for presidential candidates. The process would begin from the states in competing to become a party's national "flagbearer."

Keyword(s): civil-military relations; democracy; Nigeria

Baissa, Lemmu. "The Oromo and the Quest for Peace in Ethiopia," TransAfrica Forum, 9, Spring 1992, 57-68.

The article examines the causes of the Oromo uprising in post-Mengistu Ethiopia within the context of Oromo loyalty to the nation and the implications of the high levels of militarization for peace and democracy in Ethiopia.

Keyword(s): Ethiopia; civil-military relations; democracy

Balch, Jeffrey A. Regional Conflict and Development Cooperation: The Impact of the Liberation War on SADCC. (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Sussex, United Kingdom, 1989.) Ann Arbor, Michigan: University Microfilms International, AACDX91918.

The dissertation examines the process of development cooperation as it takes place within a regional conflict setting, in particular the context of the struggle for liberation in southern Africa. The central focus of attention is the relative impact of South African regional destabilization on the Southern African Development Coordination Conference (SADCC) in relation to other constraints. Given the SADCC's structure and procedures, it is possible that the regional conflict can have both positive and negative influences on development cooperation in the region. In three chapters dealing with the military, economic, and diplomatic aspects of the confrontation, respectively, the author finds that SADCC has been the intended target of South African regional aggression, although not the only one, and that the presence of regional conflict has acted as a brake on implementation of the development program in various sectors, most notably that of transport. Military and paramilitary activities had significant negative impacts on progress in the SADCC program, especially in Angola and Mozambique, as did economic tactics to a lesser extent. The combined use of these two aspects to exact diplomatic concessions met with only limited success, however, as the external threat to SADCC acted as a catalyst for intermember cooperation. In relation to other constraints on development cooperation, the study finds that the regional conflict in southern Africa has played a more significant role than the external debt burden, but that



the gap in donor funding for the SADCC program of action was larger than the total costs of projects directly affected by destabilization. Some conclusions are drawn regarding the adequacy of SADCC's chosen methods of cooperation and the relevance of regional integration theory.

Keyword(s): civil-military relations; Southern African Development Coordination Conference (SADCC)

Barnett, Michael, and Alexander Wendt. "The Systemic Sources of Dependent Militarization." Pages 97-119 in The Insecurity Dilemma: National Security of Third World States. Ed., Brian L. Job. Boulder, Colorado: Lynne Rienner, 1992.

The chapter examines the dependent characteristic of Third World militarization. It argues that the subordinate position of Third World states in the international system's economic and geopolitical structures has conditioned the structure and evolution of Third World domestic political economies in the direction of dependent militarization. Militarization refers to "military build-up," consisting of military hardware, manpower, and military infrastructure (as distinct from "militarism"). The author concludes that there is little prospect for "autonomous capital-intensive militarization" in the Third World as long as superpowers continue to dominate the international arms market.

Keyword(s): civil-military relations

Barrett, Lindsay. "Of Arms and Legitimacy: The Army as Peace-maker," West Africa, No. 3916, October 5-11, 1992, 1671.

The article discusses the role that a relegated Armed Forces of Liberia (AFL) might play in a postcivil war Liberia. The author argues that the entire traditional hierarchy of the old AFL would have to be purged if it is to emerge as a nationally acceptable arm of state security. This is one of the main themes of the debate over the future of the peace process in the country.

Keyword(s): civil-military relations; Liberia

Baylies, Carolyn, and Morris Szeftel. "The Fall and Rise of Multi-Party Politics in Zambia," Review of African Political Economy, No. 54, July 1992, 75-91.

The article discusses the electoral victory by the Movement for Multi-Party Democracy (MMD) in Zambia's November 1991 elections, which ended the monopoly of government by the ruling United National Independence Party (UNIP). This change in regime took place against the background of military coup attempts in 1988 and June 1990, which, together with the proliferation of opposition movements, combined to produce a step-by-step retreat from the one-party constitution. The 1990 coup, according to the authors, speeded the decision to move to elections. Former president Kaunda was prevented by the country's creditors from carrying out a plan in 1991 to solidify his base of support by vastly increasing pay for defense and security forces. Nevertheless, even the new democratically elected regime faces rumors of constant coups and plots against members of the government, with speculation at one point becoming so intense that Brigadier General Miyanda, the minister without portfolio (and next in cabinet seniority) was forced to tell a commission investigating a car accident involving high government officials that he had not conspired to assassinate the vice president, who was injured in the accident. The authors conclude with the question of whether the MMD actually replaced the UNIP or merely reproduces it.

Keyword(s): democracy; civil-military relations

Baynham, Simon. The Military and Politics in Nkrumah's Ghana. Boulder, Colorado: Westview Press, 1988.

The book examines the relationship between the military, especially the army officer corps, and the country's wider social structure and political forces during the period from 1957 to 1967. Within this context, it analyzes the changes in the organizational format and functions of the army resulting from localization and the transfer of

military authority; and presents an historical analysis of civil-military relations in Nkrumah's Ghana. The author's central proposition is that the process of Africanization provides an explanation for the deterioration in the army's internal solidarity and transformation of its control structure. This historical background is useful in analyzing civil-military relations in contemporary Ghana.

Keyword(s): Ghana; civil-military relations

Berg-Schlosser, Dirk, and Rainer Siegler. Political Stability and Development: A Comparative Analysis of Kenya, Tanzania, and Uganda. Boulder, Colorado: Lynne Rienner, 1990.

Focusing on former British East Africa as their case study, the authors attempt to identify common features and differences in the development process of these nations. The chapters on each nation provide a survey of economic, political, and social developments since independence. The authors conclude that political stability is necessary for long-term economic and social development.

Keyword(s): democracy; political development; economic development; Tanzania; Uganda

Biaghere, Sunny. "Interview with Nigerian Navy Chief Rear Admiral Nyako," African Defence, No. 120, August 1990, 33.

In an interview with Nigerian Chief of Naval Staff Rear Admiral Murtala Nyako in which the subject of new roles for the Navy is raised, he says that it is not the Navy's role to board commercial ships before they arrive in Nigeria to determine if their cargoes contain toxic waste because merchant ship captains will refuse to come to Nigeria under those circumstances. According to Rear Admiral Nyako, it is up to customs officials to board ships whenever they arrive at a Nigerian port.

Keyword(s): civil-military relations

Biaghiera, Sunny. "Nigeria: Controversy Greeted New Security Force," African Defence, No. 118, June 1990, 40-41.

The article examines the establishment in 1990 of the National Guard in Nigeria, which served to generate controversy over its uncertain role. According to a new decree's provisions, the National Guard will serve as a preventive strike force and provide relief and rescue operations in disaster areas. It is intended to serve as a middle ground between the police and the army, with the president wielding administrative and operational powers over the force. However, the National Guard lacks institutional security because it can be dissolved by the president, and its functions, in the view of critics, blur the distinction between police and army, thus weakening civil-military relations in the country.

Keyword(s): civil-military relations; Nigeria

Bienen, Henry S. Armed Forces, Conflict, and Change in Africa. Boulder, Colorado: Westview, 1989.

The book analyzes the role of African armed forces in the modernization process, the nature of military rule, populist military regimes in West Africa, the role of the military in formulating foreign policy and as an integrative actor in multiethnic societies, and the military in Nigeria.

Keyword(s): civil-military relations; democracy

Bratton, Michael, and Donald Rothchild. "The Institutional Bases of Governance in Africa." Pages 263-284 in Governance and Politics in Africa. Eds., Goran Hyden and Michael Bratton. Boulder, Colorado: Lynne Rienner, 1992.

The chapter presents an overview of political trends in sub-Saharan Africa, particularly the movement toward political and economic liberalization.

Keyword(s): civil-military relations; democracy

Bratton, Michael, and Nicolas van de Walle. "Popular Protest and Political Reform in Africa," Comparative Politics, 24, No. 4, July 1992, 419-42.

The article examines the movement in the late 1980s in which at least twenty-one African governments began to adopt significant reform measures to permit greater pluralism and competition within their political systems. Multiparty elections were held for the first time in five African countries. The authors find that the future course of regime transitions in Africa is still highly uncertain, although a preliminary identification of emergent landmarks can be made at present. They pose questions such as why cracks are appearing in authoritarian rule in many countries of the region, what are the processes of struggle and accommodation by which power is being divided in monopolistic political systems, and what are the prospects for the emergence and consolidation of democratic forms of governance. To answer these questions, they catalogue the characteristics of recent political protests in sub-Saharan Africa, focusing on the turbulent "spring" of 1990; analyze the nature of government responses, noting the range of political reform initiatives undertaken by African leaders and recording backlashes, crackdowns, and reversals where they have occurred; and explain why the political firmament is shifting in Africa after a prolonged period of institutional stagnation.

Keyword(s): democracy; civil-military relations

Chan, Stephen. "The Strategist in Isolation: The Case of Deon Geldenhuys and" Defence Analysis, 5, No. 4, December 1989, 374-76.

Using the case of Geldenhuys, a professor at Rand Afrikaans University and author of "The Diplomacy of Isolation," as illustration, the author argues that the professional competence of the South African Defence Forces has been undermined by activities it has carried out that were "unadvised and unchecked by civilians."

Keyword(s): South Africa; civil-military relations

Chazan, Naomi. "The Political Transformation of Ghana Under the PNDC." Pages 21-47 in Ghana: The Political Economy of Recovery. Ed., Donald Rothchild. Boulder, Colorado: Lynne Rienner 1991.

The author distinguishes between three phases in Ghanaian politics in the 1980s: the populist phase (1982-83), the adjustment phase (1983-87), and the consolidation phase (1987- ). The author concludes that in the consolidation phase, economic liberalization exacerbated social cleavages and delayed political reform. By the end of the 1980s, there was much popular dissatisfaction with the performance of the military regime, which faced the challenge of acquiring political legitimacy. New political institutions had to be created, involving the reallocation of political power from the military to civilian sectors.

Keyword(s): civil-military relations; political economy

Chazan, Naomi. "Africa's Democratic Challenge," World Policy Journal, 9, Spring 1992, 279-307.

The author believes that the rise of voluntary organizations is the key to the coalescence of civil society in Africa, thus laying the ground for multiparty democracy in the continent. Voluntary organizations are also valuable for putting a brake on state power, particularly in increasing their power in society vis-a-vis the military.

Keyword(s): democracy; civil-military relations

Cheru, Fantu. The Silent Revolution in Africa. Atlantic Highlands, New Jersey: Zed, 1989.

The book discusses the forces that have contributed to economic and ecological imbalances in sub-Saharan Africa. The author views growing African military spending and militarization as two factors leading to the continent's economic stagnation. Heavy spending on imported military equipment has aggravated these countries' debt predicament and placed a heavy burden on their weak economies. Furthermore, spiralling militarization has a human cost,

with the arms buildup used not against external aggressors but against citizens seeking to improve their lot.

Keyword(s): civil-military relations; democracy

Clayton, Anthony, and David Killingray. Khaki and Blue: Military and Police in British Colonial Africa. Athens: Ohio University Center for International Studies, 1989.

The monograph discusses the relations between the military and police under British colonial administration in Africa, with implications for their relations in the continent's modern period.

Keyword(s): civil-military relations

Cloete, Fanie. "Between Scylla and Charybdis: Policy Choices and the Development of Democracy in South Africa." Pages 143-156 in Strategies of Democratization. Ed., Tatu Vanhanen. Washington: Crane Russak, 1992.

The chapter explores the causal relationship between policy choices by political actors and institutional development in South Africa. The author believes that diverse demographic, political, cultural, social, and economic constraints complicate the achievement of democracy in South Africa. He argues that the African National Congress (ANC) must modify its declared political and economic positions for achieving the redistribution of resources in South Africa, in order for meaningful dialogue between it and the government to take place. He concludes that once the transition to democracy has begun it is not a foregone conclusion that it will result in the creation of a lasting democratic system.

Keyword(s): South Africa; Africa; democracy; political development

Danopoulos, Constantine P. Civilian Rule in the Developing World: Democracy on the March?. Boulder, Colorado: Westview Press, 1992.

The volume discusses various types of civilian rule in developing nations, including selected African countries. The case studies provide histories of civil-military relations; societal, internal, and international factors responsible for restraining the armed forces from political intervention; a classification of existing civilian regimes; and a discussion of future developments.

Keyword(s): civil-military relations; democracy

Decalo, Samuel. "Democracy in Africa: Toward the Twenty-First Century." Pages 131-142 in Strategies of Democratization. Ed., Tatu Vanhanen. Washington: Crane Russak, 1992.

Competitive multiparty elections and a free press and judiciary are now in vogue throughout the African continent as one-party systems and/or military regimes find themselves in retreat. Civilian groups are now reclaiming political power, and the process of democratization is changing the continent's political map. Nevertheless, these democratic advances are still mainly structural and/or constitutional and in some countries are only cosmetic or temporary. The author believes that real economic development can only take place when government becomes less wasteful and there is greater political accountability.

Keyword(s): Africa; democracy; civil-military relations

Djaksam, Themon. "Democracy in Jeopardy," West Africa, No. 3920, November 2-8, 1992, 1870.

The article discusses the failure of the 1991 Togolese national conference to eradicate the long-standing autocratic rule of President General Gnassingbe Eyadema, as well as the political crimes committed by the country's armed forces, including its demand that the legislature lift the blockade on the funds of the former ruling single



party to enable the military to recover "what is due" to them.

Keyword(s): civil-military relations; Togo

Ed., Rothchild, Donald. Ghana: The Political Economy of Recovery. Boulder, Colorado: Lynne Rienner, 1991.

Several chapters in the volume discuss civil-relations in Ghana within the context of the country's political economy.

Keyword(s): civil-military relations; democracy; political economy; Ghana

Eds., Hyden, Goran, and Michael Bratton. Governance and Politics in Africa. Boulder, Colorado: Lynne Rienner, 1992.

The volume examines the issue of governance in Africa, ranging from the management of public affairs to the relationships of political rulers and leaders to the general population. An analysis of how military regimes attempt to transform society is provided by Naomi Chazan's account of Ghana and Pearl Robinson's comparative discussion of Burkina Faso and Niger. Robinson argues that military regimes in Africa seek to legitimize their rule by promoting localized, participatory structures.

Keyword(s): democracy; civil-military relations; political development; Africa

Eds., Oyovbaire, Sam, and Tunji Olagunju. Foundations of a New Nigeria: The IBB Era. Lagos, Nigeria: Precision Press, 1990.

The book examines in a positive light the achievements of Nigeria's military regime under the leadership of General Ibrahim Badamasi Babangida (referred to in the book's subtitle as IBB). With respect to political, constitutional, and governmental processes, the authors

elaborate on the measures taken by IBB to supervise the transition from military rule to civil democratic government by 1992. These measures include systematically disengaging the military from governance, banning or disqualifying certain previous leaders from participating in the country's political leadership for life or until 1992, renovating the country's constitution, reforming and realigning the civil service to conform to the requirements of the new political and constitutional or presidential leadership, and routinizing grass-roots governance and development.

Keyword(s): Nigeria; civil-military relations; democracy

Ekwe-Ekwe, Herbert. Issues in Nigerian Politics since the Fall of the Second Republic, 1984-1990. Lewiston, New York: The Edwin Mellin Press, 1991.

The author argues that the military regime in power in Nigeria since 1985 is politically and culturally a direct descendant of the Northern People's Congress (PNC), a Hausa-Fulani/Muslim party. He thus sees Nigeria as an Islamic state, run by Hausa-Fulani generals and bureaucrats, who dominate the country's politics, armed forces, and the economy at every level. The author also points out the extent of deep-rooted schisms in the Nigerian armed forces. The armed forces have been unable to resolve the three main contradictions in their makeup: religion, region, and nationality. The author believes that whereas no consensus exists in the armed forces regarding the planned return to civilian rule at the onset of the Third Republic, a majority, who are overwhelmingly Hausa-Fulani and Muslim, identify with President Babangida and his political program. Thus, no real alternative to the present military regime in Nigeria can be expected with the initiation of the Third Republic.

Keyword(s): Nigeria; civil-military relations; democracy

Ephson, Ben. "Jerry Joins the Race; 'Retired' Military Leader Joins Presidential Race," West Africa, No. 3915, September 28-October 4, 1992, 1604.

The article discusses the candidacy of Flight Lieutenant Jerry Rawlings in the November 3, 1992 presidential elections, following his "retirement" from the Ghana Armed Forces (GAF), although he remained Chairman of the Provisional National Defence Council, Head of State and Commander in Chief of the GAF.

Keyword(s): civil-military relations; democracy; Ghana

Etherington, Norman, ed. Peace, Politics and Violence in the New South Africa. Oxford : Hans Zell, 1992.

The book examines key issues surrounding the breakdown of apartheid in South Africa. The National Party and the African National Congress (ANC) are given particular attention, as are the role of external forces and internal resistance movements. A central theme running through the contributions to the volume is whether South Africa can avoid violent revolution in bringing about majority democratic rule.

Keyword(s): democracy; civil-military relations; South Africa

Etsiah, A. Kofi. "Military Leadership and Foreign Policy Behaviour in Ghana," Journal of Contemporary African Studies, 8/9, Nos. 1/2, 1989/1990, 27-54.

The article discusses the impact of Ghana's military rulers on the country's foreign policy during the period 1972-82.

Keyword(s): civil-military relations; Ghana

Fashoyin, T. "Nigerian Labour and the Military Toward Exclusion?," Labour, Capital & Society, 23, No. 1, April 1989, 12-37.

The article examines the strained relations between trade unions and the military government in Nigeria, a country

in which government restricts the activity of free trade unions.

Keyword(s): civil-military relations

Fawole, William Alade. National Role Conceptions and Foreign Policy: Nigeria's African Diplomacy Under Military Rule, 1970-1979. (Ph.D. dissertation, The George Washington University, 1990.) Ann Arbor, Michigan: University Microfilms International, AAC9020295.

The dissertation analyzes Nigeria's policies toward the rest of Africa from 1970 to 1979, a period of uninterrupted rule during which postcivil-war Nigeria became prominent in African affairs. The change of Nigeria's status from a mere participant in the 1960s to a force of power and influence in the 1970s has been the subject of much scholarly debate. While most previous analyses have explained Nigeria's behavior in terms of oil wealth or the character of military rulers, this study explains Nigeria's behavior in terms of the concept of national role. In the 1970s, economic prosperity, the ascendancy of more radically inclined military rulers, and the opportunity for increased Nigerian leadership presented by major African events all contributed to Nigeria's rise to prominence. This study concludes that the self-satisfaction gained by playing the role of regional first among equals motivated Nigeria's African diplomacy. It further concludes that the circumstances and occurrences of the period merely supplied the opportunity for Nigeria to act out its preconceived leadership role.

Keyword(s): Nigeria; civil-military relations

Forrest, Joshua B. Guinea-Bissau: Power, Conflict, and Renewal in a West African Nation. Boulder, Colorado: Westview Press, 1992.

The book discusses the movement in Guinea-Bissau toward multiparty democracy, although no specific timetable for free elections has been announced. The move toward democracy will affect the role of the armed forces in

society, because they are at present tightly controlled by the country's president and the ruling party.

Keyword(s): Guinea-Bissau; civil-military relations; democracy

Gbadegesin, Segun, ed. The Politicization of Society During Nigeria's Second Republic, 1979-83. Lewiston, New York: Edwin Mellen Press, 1991.

The book discusses the politicization of government and society by Nigeria's military rulers during the period 1979-83. There is also a discussion of the politicization of the country's economy.

Keyword(s): civil-military relations; democracy; Nigeria

"Ghana: Electoral Problems," West Africa, No. 3920, November 2-8, 1992, 1880-82.

The article reports on the inability of the Interim National Electoral Commission (INEC) to provide a fixed date for releasing the final election results of the forthcoming presidential and parliamentary elections to be held in Ghana. The INEC claimed that natural and logistical factors, including lack of communication facilities, made it difficult for it to come up with a definite time span for releasing election results.

Keyword(s): civil-military relations; democracy; Ghana

Glickman, Harvey, ed. Political Leaders of Contemporary Africa South of the Sahara: A Biographical Dictionary. Westport, Connecticut: Greenwood Press, 1992.

The reference volume provides political and biographical profiles of major political leaders of sub-Saharan Africa. Each profile subject is identified by major leadership distinctions, with a short bibliography of works by and about the subject following each entry. Many of the

leaders profiled have come to power via military coup, or are also military leaders, so considerable information is provided on civil-military relations.

Keyword(s): Africa; political leaders; civil-military relations

Gordon, Donald L. "African Politics." Pages 51-85 in Understanding Contemporary Africa. Eds., April A. Gordon and Donald L. Gordon. Boulder, Colorado: Lynne Rienner, 1992.

The author's overview of African politics contains a section on military intervention in which he discusses the emergence of military regimes, the growth of the armed forces in society, successful instances of coups d'etat, and similarities between authoritarian civilian and military regimes in the way they manage the economy, dispense patronage, and move to consolidate their power over society.

Keyword(s): civil-military relations; democracy

Graf, William. The Nigerian State. London: James Currey, 1988.

The central thesis of the book is that a conservative elite governs Nigeria, resulting in a patronage-based political system. This system lacks legitimacy and alternates between civilian and military ruling forms. While often intervening to save the country from the excesses of civilian politicians, the military leadership, in the author's view, is incapable of transforming the "neo-colonial system," and is itself "subject to the same social contradictions, ethnic imperatives and particularistic motives as the larger society."

Keyword(s): civil-military relations; political development; democracy; Nigeria

Graham, Carol. "Zambia's Democratic Transition: The Beginning of the End of the One-Party State in Africa?," Brookings Review, 10, No. 2, 1992, 40-41.

The article examines the transition to democratic political institutions taking place worldwide and the collapse of centrally planned economies, and includes Zambia as the first country in Africa to implement dramatic political and economic reforms at the same time. The author argues that given the extent and severity of its economic crisis, Zambia's experiment in democracy has a long way to go, but its reform efforts already stand out among other African nations.

Keyword(s): democracy; civil-military relations

Gyimah-Boadi, E., and Victor Ayeni. "Ghana." Pages 229-257 in Public Administration in the Third World: An International Handbook. Ed., V. Subramaniam. New York: Greenwood Press, 1990.

The chapter discusses Ghana's armed forces and police in terms of their role within the country's public administration and governmental rule by the Provisional National Defence Council (PNDC).

Keyword(s): Ghana; civil-military relations; democracy

Hansen, Emmanuel, and Kwame A. Ninsin, eds. The State, Development and Politics in Ghana. London: Codesria Book Series, 1989.

The book examines political developments in Ghana since 1957 under the theme of "what exactly went wrong" in the country after independence, following expectations for political success and economic prosperity.

Keyword(s): civil-military relations; democracy; Ghana

Haynes, Jeff. "African Affairs" Human Right and Democracy in Ghana: The Record of the Rawlings' Regime, 90, No. 360, July 1991, 407-425.

Haynes discusses the relationship between economic development and democratic and human rights within the Ghanaian context. The article focuses on the efforts by the "paternalistic, sometimes authoritarian" Rawlings' military regime to implement the International Monetary Fund's structural adjustment program (SAP) for the Ghanaian economy, and the impact on the country's human rights record. The author concludes that the military regime devoted more attention to "sometimes imagined threats to its rule" than to devising frameworks to increase popular participation in economic and political matters at the national level.

Keyword(s): civil-military relations; democracy; Ghana

Heitman, Helmoed-Romer. "South Africa's Changing Defence Policy," Jane's Defence Weekly, 12, No. 24, December 16, 1989, 1333.

The article reports on a speech delivered by General Magnus Malan, the South African Defence Minister, to the South African Defence Forces (SADF) infantry school, in which he discusses the changes in the SADF counterinsurgency roles, including an end to proinsurgency operations outside the country because of the end of the Cold War.

Keyword(s): South Africa; civil-military relations

Heitman, Helmoed-Romer. "South Africa: 'Ready to Give Peace a Chance'," Jane's Defence Weekly, 12, No. 20, November 18, 1989, 1104-05.

The article features an interview with General Johannes Geldenhuys, Chief of the South African Defence Forces (SADF). General Geldenhuys discusses developments in Namibia and Angola, and the period of consolidation and force development that the SADF is undergoing.



Keyword(s): civil-military relations; South Africa

Heitman, Helmoed-Romer. "South African Force Seeks to Reflect Political Changes," Jane's Defence Weekly, June 20, 1992, 1062.

The South African Defence Force (SADF) is planning eventually to incorporate personnel drawn from the armed forces of the independent homelands, in addition to members of paramilitary groups such as the military wing of the African National Congress (ANC) and right-wing white organizations, as long as both renounce violence as a political weapon. This would take place during the transition period leading to a postapartheid, democratic political system.

Keyword(s): civil-military relations; South Africa

Henze, Paul B. Ethiopia in 1991--Peace Through Struggle. Santa Monica, California: Rand, 1991.

Writing in 1991, the author is optimistic about the prospects for democracy in Ethiopia, following the overthrow of the military regime of president Mengistu. He describes political dialogue in the country as characterized by a strong interest in Western democracy, federalism, and open economic systems. With the armed forces of the Derg now dissolved, the Ethiopian People's Revolutionary Democratic Front (EPRDF) leaders, in the author's view, show no tendency to expand their own guerrilla forces, and speak of keeping the future Ethiopian army within the earlier size that prevailed during Haile Selassie's period (45,000 as opposed to 400,000 personnel). There is little interest in reconstituting the air force.

Keyword(s): Ethiopia; civil-military relations; democracy

Herbst, Jeffrey. State Politics in Zimbabwe. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1990.

The author examines how policy decisions are made and conflicts are resolved in Zimbabwe in order to understand the extent of "state autonomy"--the freedom of the state to act on the structural and situational levels.

Keyword(s): political development; Zimbabwe

Hunt, G.D. "Recollections of the Canadian Armed Forces Training Team in Ghana, 1961-1968," Canadian Defence Quarterly, 18, No. 5, 1989, 43-50.

The article discusses the role of the Canadian Armed Forces training team in Ghana when it provided military instruction to Ghanaian troops during the period 1961-68. It provides information on the development of the Ghanaian military in the contemporary period.

Keyword(s): civil-military relations; Ghana

Ihonvbere, Julius O. "A Critical Evaluation of the Failed 1990 Coup in Nigeria," Journal of Modern African Affairs, 29, December 1991, 601-26.

The article evaluates the factors leading to the breakdown of the 1990 attempted coup in Nigeria by placing it against the background of Nigerian politics in which the military has held political office for eighteen of Nigeria's thirty years of political independence. During this period, there have been five successful coups d'etat, as well as several failed attempts.

Keyword(s): civil-military relations; coup d'etat; Nigeria

Inamete, Ufot B. "Federalism in Nigeria: The Crucial Dynamics," The Round Table, No. 318, 1991, 191-207.

The article evaluates factors affecting the nature of federalism in Nigeria, including the military, which since independence in 1960 has been in charge of governance more than its civilian counterpart. Thus, according to the author, the study of federalism in Nigeria cannot be separated from the role of the military, which has always intervened when the country's political system appeared to be "wobbling." With the military's becoming so intertwined with the Nigerian governing process, a new theory of 'dyarchy' came into use. Dyarchy refers to a joint civilian and military governing system, with progress in various sectors only occurring within such a framework. It is based on the premise that the military can never be permanently removed from government. With regard to federalism, the author points out that military rule has contributed to the centralizing tendencies in the federal system.

Keyword(s): civil-military relations; democracy; Nigeria

Israel, Adrienne M. "Ex-Servicemen at the Crossroads: Protest and Politics in Post-War Ghana," The Journal of Modern African Studies, 30, No. 3, June 1992, 359-68.

The article examines the predicament, in terms of new careers or political outlooks, of former soldiers in Ghana following their retirement or completion of their tours of duty.

Keyword(s): civil-military relations; Ghana

Jackson, Robert H. "The Security Dilemma in Africa." Pages 81-94 in The Security Dilemma: National Security of Third World States. Ed., Brian L. Job. Boulder, Colorado: Lynne Rienner, 1992.

The author refers to sub-Saharan states as "quasi-states," which are unable to provide for their own external security except by entering into agreements with (superpower) nonregional actors. Domestically, these regimes are unconstrained in violating the internal security of their populations, thus breaking the Hobbesian

notion of a social contract between the government and the citizenry for the provision of security.

Keyword(s): civil-military relations; Africa

James, Abraham Lamina. National Integration and the Liberian Political Process, 1943-1985. (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Pennsylvania, 1990.) Ann Arbor, Michigan: University Microfilms International, AAC9101172.

The dissertation considers the main causes of the military intervention in Liberia of April 12, 1980. The modernization process of the 1950s and 1960s resulted in the incorporation of many indigenous Liberians into the body politic and cash economy of the country. The political and economic progress gave rise to the high expectations of thousands of Liberians. However, the decline of Liberia's economic resources in the 1970s and the high expectations created by the political and economic progress of the 1950s and 1960s led to a state of political instability and social unrest, which, in turn, resulted in the intervention of the military in 1980. The constitution adopted in a national referendum in 1985 is viewed as offering the best chance of unifying the country and preserving the political and social gains made during the 1950s and 1960s, provided the document is adhered to by officials and general population alike. The study attempts to provide analytical guidelines that can be applied to analogous situations in other African countries.

Keyword(s): Liberia; civil-military relations; democracy

Jason, Pini. "Bench Against the Bayonet" New African, No. 300 (September 1992), 23.

The article examines the efforts by Nigerian military rulers to override the country's judiciary by blocking it from questioning most decrees issued by the government. This has led the judiciary to add its voice to the chorus calling for the military to leave the government.

Keyword(s): Nigeria; civil-military relations; democracy

Jenkins, J. Craig, and Augustine J. Kposowa. "The Political Origins of African Military Coups: Ethnic Competition, Military Centrality, and the Struggle Over the Postcolonial State," International Studies Quarterly, 36, September 1992, 271-91.

The authors examine two waves of military interventions and different types of coup events, as well as a coup intensity index.

Keyword(s): civil-military relations

Jenkins, J.C. "Explaining Military Coups d'Etat: Black Africa, 1957-1984," American Sociological Review, 55, No. 6, December 1990, 861-75.

The article discusses various types of coups d'etat that have taken place in Africa during the period 1957-84. A number of variables are proposed to explain military intervention in African politics.

Keyword(s): civil-military relations

Joseph, Richard. "Zambia: A Model for Democratic Change," Current History, 91, No. 565, May 1992, 199-201.

The transition in Zambia from one-party rule to multiparty democracy is influencing other African countries to embark on this course, according to the author. The key element is free elections, which most authoritarian African governments are not permitting. The lack of opportunity to bring about genuine change will lead to continued instability in authoritarian countries, the author concludes.

Keyword(s): Zambia; democracy

Joseph, Richard. "Africa: The Rebirth of Political Freedom," Journal of Democracy, 2, No. 4, Fall 1991, 11-24.

The article examines the democratic movement sweeping Africa by classifying regimes according to their degree of democratization. According to the author, the number of "firmly authoritarian" regimes has continued to shrink, with only Equatorial Guinea, Djibouti, Libya, Malawi, Sudan, and Swaziland still included in that category. Writing in 1991, he believes that the pace of change toward democracy is accelerating at such a rate that by 1992 it is conceivable that the continent would be overwhelmingly democratic in composition. The author's typology of political systems ranges from established democracies to emerging democracies, directed democracies, states with contested sovereignty, regimes in transition in which the democratic commitment is either strong, moderate, or ambiguous, and authoritarian regimes. The author also proposes seven models of transition to democracy. These include the national conference, government change via democratic elections, coopted transitions, guided democratization, recalcitrance and piecemeal reforms, armed insurrections culminating in elections, and conditional transitions. The author concludes that in addition to constitutional and institutional innovations, African democracies must demonstrate that they are better governors than their predecessors. This can be achieved by the accession to office of individuals of proven administrative skill.

Keyword(s): democracy; civil-military relations

Kalipeni, Ezekiel. "Political Development and Prospects for Democracy in Malawi," TransAfrica Forum, 9, Spring 1992, 27-40.

The article examines political developments in Malawi's colonial and postcolonial periods, particularly in relation to the country's socioeconomic development. It also outlines possible political scenarios that are likely to affect Malawi in the 1990s, including a military coup.

Keyword(s): civil-military relations; democracy; Malawi

Keller, Edmond J. Revolutionary Ethiopia: From Empire to People's Republic. Bloomington, Indiana: Indiana University Press, 1989.

The book provides a comprehensive account of the Ethiopian revolution. It begins with the establishment of the provisional military government in 1974, and examines the consolidation of the regime of Lieutenant Colonel Mengistu Haile Mariam (which was overthrown in 1991).

Keyword(s): civil-military relations; Ethiopia

Kennedy, Tim. "Interview with Senegalese CGS General Mamdou Seck," African Defence, No. 119, July 1990, 38-39.

In the interview, Senegalese Chief of General Staff General Mamadou Mansour Seck discusses the role of the country's military as one of the factors contributing to domestic stability. Another role carried out by the military is its participation in peace-keeping operations, particularly in the Middle East.

Keyword(s): Senegal; civil-military relations

Kosoko, David. Nigeria's Inter-African Relations: A Study of Continuity and Change in Nigeria's African Policy, 1960-1983. (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Washington, 1989.) Ann Arbor, Michigan: University Microfilms International, AAC0566651.

The dissertation examines the elements of change and continuity in Nigeria's African policy from 1960 to 1983, in order to examine the contention that 1975 marks the turning point in Nigeria's foreign policy. The study contends that although the style may have changed, the substance of Nigeria's foreign policy remains the same. From various experiences of the twenty-three years covered in this study, it is concluded that as of 1983 the style and approach of the government in power greatly affected the policy process and its outcome. The military, throughout their thirteen years in government, did nothing to carry out their revolution beyond the familiar rhetoric of African politics and diplomacy. No national ideology

emerged from their rule, with the result that they could hardly effect a change in the substance and pattern of Nigeria's foreign policy. Consequently, the military, particularly the Muhammad/Obasanjo regimes, merely transformed the style of Nigeria's foreign policy but not the character of the Nigerian state.

Keyword(s): Nigeria; civil-military relations

Legum, Colin. "What About the Oromos?," New African, No. 302, November 1992, 42-43.

The article views the Oromo question as the most important ethnic problem that must be overcome in order for Ethiopia to establish a democratic society based on ethnic federalism. This issue has ruptured relations between Ethiopia's interim government and the Oromo Liberation Front (OLF), the most significant Oromo guerrilla group. If these relations are not resolved, the author believes that this conflict will degenerate into armed violence, possibly even civil war. The author fears that if a democratic federal structure is not agreed upon, then the OLF would press its claim to secession, which would bisect Ethiopia into two wings of Oromia.

Keyword(s): civil-military relations; democracy; Ethiopia

Lewis, Peter M. "Journal of International Affairs" Political Transition and the Dilemma of Civil Society in Africa, 46, No. 1, Summer 1992, 30-54.

About two dozen African regimes have recently reformed their previously authoritarian political systems by either adopting liberalizing measures or acceding to multiparty electoral rule. These developments, however, also raise vast challenges for African political development. Sustainable democratic rule is not ensured. What is needed is the creation of civil society, which is the crucial variable for establishing public accountability and participatory government. However, in Africa, indigenous social formations and the nature of state-society relations provide a weak basis for the



emergence of a civil society. The author concludes that a long process of restructuring state-society relations is required, not merely quick fixes.

Keyword(s): democracy; civil-military relations; political development

Maasdorp, Gavin, and Alan Whiteside. "The 1990s and Beyond." Pages 201-215 in Towards a Post-Apartheid Future: Political and Economic Relations in Southern Africa. Eds., Gavin Maasdorp and Alan Whiteside. New York: St. Martin's Press, 1992.

The authors believe that the reforms currently sweeping South Africa are irreversible, with the constitutional process mandated to be completed no later than March 1995.

That is the last date by which the government must call a free, nationwide election. One disturbing factor is the presence of various extraparliamentary paramilitary groups belonging to right-wing and left-wing factions that are intent on disrupting the peaceful transition to majority rule in South Africa. A further concern is that some of these elements are present in the security forces charged with keeping law and order. For peaceful change to occur, the authors argue that these paramilitary units be disarmed; this is clearly an issue that any future government must address.

Keyword(s): South Africa; civil-military relations; democracy

MacGaffey, Janet (ed.). The Real Economy of Zaire: The Contribution of Smuggling and Other Unofficial Activities to National Wealth. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1991.

The book examines the real, as opposed to the "official," economy of Zaire, including the role of the military in the smuggling trade.

Keyword(s): civil-military relations; political economy; Zaire

Makinda, Samuel M. Security in the Horn of Africa. Adelphi Paper No. 9. London: The Institute for Strategic Studies, 1992.

The author examines the internal and external security situation in each of the four countries of the Horn of Africa--Sudan, Ethiopia, Djibouti, and Somalia. He finds that all have similar internal problems that have produced long-term political instability; absence of effective governmental institutions, lack of legitimate governments, ethnic animosities that have led to civil wars, poorly managed economies, famines, and refugees. These problems are all interrelated, and problems in one country influence the difficulties in neighboring countries. In recent years, the external security situation has reversed itself in the Horn with the end of the Cold War and the loss of superpower involvement and even interest in these countries. Territorial disputes and demands for self-determination among minority or ethnic peoples lie at the heart of both internal and interstate conflicts in the Horn. As part of the solution to these conflicts, the author looks at the roles and policies of governments in each country and examines the chances for democratic government. He also examines civil-military relations and the role of the military in domestic and interstate relations. He concludes that there is no end in sight for most of the conflicts that afflict the Horn.

Keyword(s): Africa; civil-military relations; democracy

Marx, Anthony W. Lessons of Struggle: South African Internal Opposition, 1960-1990. New York: Oxford University Press, 1992.

The author believes that the African National Congress (ANC), the main opposition movement in South Africa, has abandoned armed struggle in favor of peaceful resolution of its conflict with the Pretoria government, because of a number of new developments. These include cessation of Soviet funding of the ANC's military and the ability of the ANC's moderate leadership to persuade the country's white-dominated government that an accommodation resulting in majority rule with various checks is possible.

Keyword(s): South Africa; civil-military relations

McFerson, Hazel M. "Democracy and Development in Africa" Journal of Peace Research, 29, No. 3, 1992, 241-248.

In 1992 a dramatic process was underway in Africa to restore the basis of political legitimacy to governments that were previously unrepresentative and "predatory," although unrepresentative regimes still outnumber democratic governments on the continent. The author believes that "predatory authoritarianism" has been the central cause of Africa's economic underdevelopment. He criticizes those who argue that political pluralism must exist for economic development to take place, although he recognizes that it is a necessary condition for African economic recovery. He points out that the military has been used as an instrument of compliance in Africa because the traditional authoritarian regimes lacked legitimacy and the military provided the nation with "regime security" rather than "national security." He concludes that the military is the paramount factor in preventing the consolidation of democracy in many African countries. Fledgling democracies face considerable hostile firepower from many sides possessing weapons either remaining from the end of the Cold War or from the collapse of authoritarian regimes.

Keyword(s): democracy; civil-military relations; political development

Misser, Francois. "Burundi: Mbonimpa's Coup?," New African, No. 300, September 1992, 19.

The article discusses the implications of the arrest of Cyprien Mbonimpa, Burundi's former Minister of Foreign Affairs, as well as the imprisonment of other leading army officers held under suspicion of organizing a failed military coup on March 3, 1992. The coup plotters reportedly had planned to sabotage a referendum in favor of a pluralist democratic constitution that was eventually adopted on March 9. According to the article, the attempted coup also reflects a division within the military establishment between President Buyoya's reformist allies and his opponents, who resent his betrayal of the Tutsis and his home region of Bururi.

Keyword(s): civil-military relations; Burundi

Momoh, Eddie. "Sierra Leone: Revolution in Crisis?," West Africa, No. 3925, December 7-13, 1992, 2092.

The article points out that six months after seizing power in Sierra Leone, the National Provisional Ruling Council (NPRC), a military junta, has already arrogantly misused its power in government and staggeringly displayed its new wealth and opulence. Internal factionalism within the NPRC has also resulted in "clumsy and incoherent" policies, including a vague promise to hand over power to a democratically elected government. This situation has led many Sierra Leoneans to wonder whether anything has changed since the coup.

Keyword(s): civil-military relations; Sierra Leone

Mukonoweshuro, Eliphas G. "The Political Economy of South Africa's Destabilization of Zimbabwe," Journal of Third World Studies, 8, No. 1, Spring 1991, 139-164.

The article discusses South Africa's destabilization campaign against Zimbabwe in terms of its impact on the Harare government's programs. According to the author, this campaign has required the Zimbabwe government to maintain high levels of militarization as well as high levels of defense spending, resulting in four major negative effects: (1) less spending on health, education and socioeconomic development; (2) less foreign investment in the country's infrastructure because of an atmosphere of political instability; (3) creating an image of a "beleaguered, illegitimate state" undergoing a civil war; and (4) making the post-civil war policy of racial and political reconciliation difficult to achieve.

Keyword(s): civil-military relations; political development

National Commission for Democracy. Evolving a True Democracy: Summary of NCD's Work Towards the Establishment of a New Democratic Order; Report Presented to the PNDC. Accra, Ghana: National Commission for Democracy, 1991.

The booklet discusses the National Commission for Democracy's report on establishing democratic institutions in Ghana, which was presented to the country's ruling Provisional National Defence Council (PNDC).

Keyword(s): civil-military relations; democracy

Ninsin, Kwame A. "The PNDC and the Problem of Legitimacy." Pages 49-67 in Ghana: The Political Economy of Recovery. Ed., Donald Rothchild. Boulder, Colorado: Lynne Rienner 1991.

The author's main thesis is that a military regime can achieve legitimacy if it can persuade significant social classes that it is able to manage effectively the country's economy and to ensure reasonable access to the economic surplus generated by its policies. An additional thesis is that military governments are hampered by their lack of the necessary constitutional and legal underpinning that forms the basis for modern government. This was one of the initial problems that faced the Ghanaian Provisional National Defence Council (PNDC) when it came to power by a coup d'etat. The rest of the chapter discusses the PNDC government's attempts to resolve its legitimacy crisis.

Keyword(s): civil-military relations; political economy; Ghana

Nolutshungu, Sam C. "Fragments of a democracy: reflections on class and politics in Nigeria." Pages 72-105 in The Fallacies of Hope: The Post-colonial Record of the Commonwealth Third World. Eds., James Mayall and Anthony Payne. New York: Manchester University Press, 1991.

The author points out that despite the long years of military rule in Nigeria and the persistent skepticism about the effectiveness of politicians, it is inevitable a military junta will feel the need to legitimize itself by preparing to return to civilian rule. For the military itself, the promise to return power to civilians is a way to maintain order within its own ranks, to discourage further coup attempts, and to enable it to continue to

maintain its high social and economic standing. In the final analysis, returning to civilian rule is part of the promotion of elites that enables new generations of military officers and civilians to reach high positions in society.

Keyword(s): Nigeria; civil-military relations; democracy

Nwankwo, Arthur A. Retreat of Power: The Military in Nigeria's Third Republic. Enugu, Nigeria: Fourth Dimension Publishing, 1990.

The book discusses the dynamics and structures of the transition from military to civilian regimes, with particular emphasis on Nigeria's Third Republic. It criticizes the Nigerian military for disregarding the democratic principle that belies its "self-imposed redemptive role." It characterizes the Nigerian military as essentially praetorian in nature and describes its aim as striving to "perpetuate the same socio-economic foundations of oppression that produced them." The author regards the transition from military to civilian rule in Nigeria as a "farce," and points out that regardless of how the military withdraws from politics, the succeeding civilian regime will uphold the policies and interests of the withdrawing regime and ensure that the reentry of the military to Nigerian politics will be continuously assured.

Keyword(s): Nigeria; civil-military relations; democracy

Nyong'o, Peter Anyang'. "Africa: The Failure of One-Party Rule," Journal of Democracy, 3, No. 1, 90-96.

The article is based on the author's keynote address at the Pan-African Conference, held in Namibia in 1991. It examines the failure of one-party regimes in Africa to promote national unity, devote resources toward nation-building and development, and promote democracy and human rights. The author believes that political changes in the direction of greater democratization currently sweeping Africa are irreversible because they are rooted

in concrete experience and long-term disenchantment with the performance of one-party regimes.

Keyword(s): democracy; one-party regimes

Ola-Davies, George. "Guinea's Difficult Transition," West Africa, No. 3913, September 14-20, 1992, 1558-59.

The article discusses the uncertain political climate created when General Lansana Conte reluctantly agreed to establish political pluralism in Guinea. This pluralism, however, has not been entirely genuine as the government began to threaten to dismiss any civil servant who refused to join the ruling Unity and Progress Party (PUP). Such intimidation has led opposition politicians and the general public still to feel insecure about the new freedom of speech and press instituted by the government.

Keyword(s): civil-military relations; democracy; Guinea

Oladimeji, Olutunde A. "African Defence Spending in the 1990s," African Defence, No. 119, July 1990, 40-41.

With the advent of recent developments in Africa, such as the Angolan settlement, Namibia's independence, and recognition of the African National Congress (ANC) by the South African government, African armed forces are facing tremendous problems as a result of the misunderstanding or questioning of their current peacetime relevance and roles. Awareness of African military conditions and needs should caution against any precipitate action to reduce expenditure on defense, the author argues. New security roles for African military forces are maritime in nature, and include coastal surveillance and policing. The author concludes that it is premature for African nations to seek to benefit from the "peace dividend" when the basic infrastructure for an effective defense system is still lacking in many of these countries.

Keyword(s): civil-military relations

Oladimeji, Olutunde A. "The Military" The Quarterly Journal of Administration, 24, No. 3, April 1990, 232-242.

The article points out that Nigeria's 1989 constitution is similar to the 1979 constitution in giving the military a preeminent role in the government. Both provide the president with the operational control of the armed forces, and include provisions for the Office of Chief of Defence Staff, the National Defence Council, and the National Security Council for the management of national defense. The author, a navy captain in the Nigerian Armed Forces, raises four additional issues. First, the new constitution provides for an Armed Forces Service Commission to deal with the federal character of the state, even though President Babangida declared that the provision had been eliminated. Second, the Minister of External Affairs is not a statutory member of the National Defence Council. Third, the new constitution's anti coup provision is meaningless unless measures are taken to make such intervention costly. Fourth, it is unclear whether the new constitution is actually dated 1989 or 1992. The author concludes that during the transition period from military to civilian rule, a constitution can only "regulate and arbitrate" a process in which there is much "wheeling and dealing." In this process every social group fights to advance its interests at different levels and at times in different directions. The new constitution therefore is a document that seeks to establish a lasting democratic system in which civilian supremacy over the military is "part of the social contract."

Keyword(s): civil-military relations; democracy; Nigeria

Omaar, Rakiya. "Somalia: At War with Itself," Current History, 91, No. 565, May 1992, 230-34.

The article examines the civil war in Somalia not only as a clan conflict, but also as an intense power struggle between two rival leaders belonging to the United Somali Congress (USC) and a struggle over basic resources, including food, by heavily armed groups. This conflict has served to sideline any chance for democracy in Somalia. For democracy to prevail in Somalia, the different armed organizations would have to reconcile



their differences, legitimize the new government, and unite the USC, according to the author.

Keyword(s): Somalia; civil-military relations

Omo-Bare, Iren. Military and Civilian Regimes in Sub-Saharan Africa: A Comparative Analysis of Public Policy Outputs and Outcomes. (Ph.D. dissertation, The Louisiana State University and Agricultural and Mechanical College, 1990.) Ann Arbor, Michigan: University Microfilms International, AAC9123228.

The dissertation assesses the influence of military and civilian regimes on public policy in sub-Saharan Africa. The key question examined is whether it makes any difference for a country to be governed by a military or civilian government. Some research indicates that regime type does have policy implications, while other research suggests that it does not. To determine the linkage (if any) between regime type and public policy, four general hypotheses concerning regime effect on public policy are articulated. These are: (1) defense expenditure should be higher in countries where the military controls the policy-making institutions than in those where they do not; (2) military rule will be negatively correlated with variables indicating budgetary allocations to economic and social sectors, whereas civilian rule will have the opposite effect; (3) within any given African country, changes in regime type should be associated with shifts in the pattern of spending priorities exhibited by that country; (4) socioeconomic development in the emerging nations of sub-Saharan Africa is more likely to occur under military-led regimes that are predisposed to modernization than under regimes headed by civilians who are similarly predisposed. Three quantitative methods of analysis--the Multiple Interrupted Time Series (MITS) design, a "pooled" analysis of differences of means, and "simple country" analysis--are utilized to evaluate regime performance in several sub-Saharan African countries. More detailed analysis of the impact of regime type on public policy is provided with case studies of regime performances in Ghana, Liberia and Nigeria. The Ghana case study deals with the linkage between regime type and agricultural productivity. In Liberia, government

policies as they relate to foreign affairs are examined. The case study of Nigeria deals with the impact of regime type on industrial development. The analysis suggests that most military and civilian regimes in sub-Saharan Africa are indistinguishable in terms of economic policy outputs and outcomes. However, there is one category of public expenditure in which there is a clear distinction between the two regime types--defense spending.

Keyword(s): civil-military relations; public policy

Oni, I.O. "The Significance and Prospects of Stable Civil-Military Relations in Nigeria" India Quarterly, 45, April/September, 1989, 193-213.

The article examines the need for a stable civil-military system in Nigeria. It appraises the trends that promise such a system, as well as antithetical forces that would make such prospects unlikely. It concludes that a stable and workable civil-military system in Nigeria cannot occur in isolation from changes in the prevailing political economy and social relations.

Keyword(s): civil-military relations; Nigeria

Osaghae, Eghosa. "Government and Politics." Pages 205-251 in Nigeria: A Country Handbook. Helen Chapin Metz, ed. Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1992.

The chapter discusses the formation of Nigeria's first republic (1960-66), military intervention and military rule, and political transitions and transition planning, including the proposed transition from military to civilian rule scheduled for 1992. The author points out that in Nigeria political transition is based on the conviction by military rulers, as well as the general population, that rule by civilians is desirable and that after 'rescuing' the government, power should be turned over to civilians.

Keyword(s): civil-military relations; democracy; Nigeria

Osso, Nyaknno, ed. Who's Who in Nigeria. Lagos, Nigeria: Newswatch, 1990.

The reference volume provides biographical information about prominent Nigerian personalities, including military and political leaders.

Keyword(s): civil-military relations; Nigeria

Owusu, Maxwell. "Rebellion, Revolution, and Tradition: Reinterpreting Coups in Ghana," Comparative Studies in Society and History, 31, No. 2, 1989, 372-97.

The article analyzes the nature of military intervention in Ghanaian politics by examining the various types of coups that have taken place since the 1970s.

Keyword(s): civil-military relations; Ghana

Petchenkine, Youry. Ghana: In Search of Stability, 1957-1992. New York: Praeger, 1992.

The book discusses the evolution of the Ghanaian political system in terms of civil-military relations during the period 1957-1992.

Keyword(s): civil-military relations; democracy

Rake, Alan. "Democracy Hits the Barriers," New African, No. 302, November 1992, 11-14.

The article discusses the exploitation by incumbent governments of the wave of democratization that is sweeping sub-Saharan Africa. Instead of democratic opposition forces being swept into power, since 1991 the incumbent old rulers have learned how to survive politically, national conferences intended to write democratic constitutions have run out of steam, ruling single parties have exploited fragmentation among the opposition to win electoral victories, and governments such as Angola and Nigeria that have genuinely sought to

establish democratic civilian regimes have run into serious trouble.

Keyword(s): democracy; civil-military relations

Rake, Alan. Who's Who in Africa: Leaders for the 1990s. Metuchen, New Jersey: The Scarecrow Press, 1992.

The book provides portraits of prominent political leaders in sub-Saharan Africa, including military officers involved in political activities, or holding government positions. The volume is organized on a country-by-country basis.

Keyword(s): civil-military relations; democracy; military leaders; Africa

Riley, Stephen P. The Democratic Transition in Africa: An End to the One-Party State?. London: Institute for the Study of Conflict and Terrorism, October 1991.

Riley discusses the social and economic conditions necessary for the creation of democratic governments in Africa, against the backdrop of authoritarian institutions, in both their civil and military forms, that are now being challenged across the continent. The author believes that the authoritarianism of the military regimes that have governed African nations have had damaging effects upon 'civil society,' and that for a functioning democratic system to emerge, independent trade unions, local community organizations, business groups, the media, and church associations must all be permitted to operate freely.

Keyword(s): democracy; civil-military relations

Robinson, Pearl T. "Grassroots Legitimation of Military Governance in Burkina Faso and Niger: The Core Contradictions." Pages 143-165 in Governance and Politics

in Africa. Eds., Goran Hyden and Michael Bratton. Boulder, Colorado: Lynne Rienner, 1992.

The author focuses on the efforts of the military regimes in Burkina Faso and Niger to consolidate power in government while at the same time providing for participation of citizens at the local level. The military regime, she argues, bolsters its legitimacy by emphasizing the inclusion of the populace in state affairs (the corporatist style of governance), but the question remains how this is implemented at the grassroots level. In the case of Niger, despite the military government's official intentions, many people in the rural areas knew little of local government programs, with ethnically based political activity remaining in force despite the new corporatist style institutions promoted by the national government. The author concludes that unless the new corporatist style political institutions become accepted by the public, the "legitimacy crisis" will remain.

Keyword(s): Burkina Faso; Niger; civil-military relations; democracy

Roherty, James M. State Security in South Africa: Civil-Military Relations Under P.W. Botha. Armonk, New York: Sharpe, 1992.

The book examines the nature of civil-military relations in South Africa during the administration of former President P.W. Botha. This information provides useful background for understanding the evolution of these relations since the ascendancy of F.W. de Klerk as president in 1989, particularly his declared intention to root out those responsible for illegal military and security activities in the previous decade and formally to subordinate security operations to the civil government. Nevertheless, reports persist that a 'Third Force' remains in the security services and that the police in particular has been involved in provoking intercommunal violence in the black African community. The resolution of this issue has bearing on either threatening or restoring the credibility of the South African government in its negotiations with the African National Congress (ANC).

Keyword(s): civil-military relations; South Africa

Rothchild, Donald. "Ghana and Structural Adjustment: An Overview." Pages 3-17 in Ghana: The Political Economy of Recovery. Ed., Donald Rothchild. Boulder, Colorado: Lynne Rienner 1991.

Among other topics, the chapter discusses the role of the ruling Provisional National Defence Council (PNDC) in managing the Ghanaian economy. The author points out that economic growth has not been paralleled by progress in developing responsive political institutions, creating an imbalance that threatens sustained economic development in the long term.

Keyword(s): civil-military relations; political economy

Saine, Abdoulaye S.M.. The Political Economy of Internal and External Military Interventions in Africa: A Comparative Theoretical Analysis of Modernization and Marxist Theories of Development and Conflict. (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Denver, 1989.) Ann Arbor, Michigan: University Microfilms International, AAC9110246.

The dissertation compares the theoretical presuppositions and expectations of modernization theory and a strand of neo-Marxist political economy, with regard to their relative predictions of internal and external military interventions in Africa. While both theories address the issue of instability, the study argues that the neo-Marxist political economy approach provides a more compelling explanation. The principal difficulty with modernization theory lies with its individualist approach to coups. Consequently, it is limited for explanatory and predictive purposes. The neo-Marxist political economy approach, on the other hand, derives from a macro-sociological analysis and hence rejects the key assumption made by modernization writers that the appropriate level of analysis is the individual or even national societies. Thus, it assumes that the historical insertion of Third World states into the global capitalist economy be analyzed to understand, in addition to internal

variables, the causes of coups d'etat. The latter also stresses equally the importance of historical dimensions and the social relations that evolve in different contexts. Such is not the only distinguishing mark of the neo-Marxist approach, as it tends to stress equally the importance of the totality of structures. Thus, macro-structural analysis lends understanding to patterns and reactions of contending classes in their quest for hegemony. The author thus argues for the relative superiority of the neo-Marxist approach over the modernizing military view, which he finds characterized by "complexity, generality, and its inclusion of the individualist perspective." He finds the individualist perspective useful, not so much as a level of empirical analysis, but as a presupposition of social structure.

Keyword(s): civil-military interventions

Sawyer, Amos. The Emergence of Autocracy in Liberia: Tragedy and Challenge. San Francisco: ICS Press, 1992.

The book's author, president of Liberia's transitional government and a political scientist, argues that the introduction of military rule in Liberia by the late president Samuel Doe radically transformed the country, while at the same time reinforcing long-standing social patterns. Descendants of the settlers have been physically removed from power in the society, with all sectors of society becoming militarized. The author believes that the process of a military dictator appropriating the autocracy of the presidency is repeating itself in other African countries.

Keyword(s): Liberia; civil-military relations

Sayila, Alfred K. K. "Zambia Closes on the MNR Rebels," Jane's Defence Weekly, 15, No. 17, April 27, 1991, 694-95.

The article discusses the changes in the deployment of the Zambian security forces as a result of their military success against Mozambique National Resistance (MNR) rebels, who have been waging a five-year war against

border villages in Zambia's Eastern Province. Zambia's success was also due to the reduction in support that the MNR rebels had been receiving from South Africa, as well as the rapprochement between Pretoria and Zambia.

Keyword(s): civil-military relations; Zambia

Seegers, Annette. "Current Trends in South Africa's Security Establishment," Armed Forces & Society, 18, No. 2, Winter 1992, 159-174.

The article analyzes three security trends in an evolving South Africa: the role of the police, the relation between the military and the government, and the failure of the government to restrain abuses by the security services. These trends are examined in light of the movement in the country toward rule by a democratic majority. It points out that whereas the South African Police (SAP) has grown in terms of budget and size, and its command structure has been regionalized, its hold on state power has been weakened. Nevertheless, the country's civilian leadership has rarely acted to correct abuses by members and units of the security establishment because it believes that the transition to majority rule will fail at the last moment.

Keyword(s): South Africa; civil-military relations; democracy

Sesay, Amadu. "The OAU Peace-keeping Force in Chad: Some Lessons for Future Operations," Current Research on Peace and Violence, 12, No. 4, 1989, 191-200.

The article examines the impact of deploying the Organization for African Unity (OAU) peace-keeping force in Chad in the early 1980s. The author believes that the manner in which the force was deployed proved to be a mistake and in fact damaged its self-confidence. The author concludes that "If the [OAU] secretary general is to have any significant input in future peace-keeping activities, then he must be given some room for independent action and initiative, which is not provided for in the Charter at the moment."



Keyword(s): Chad; civil-military relations

Sheppard, Stephen. "Ethiopia: Electoral Uncertainties," New African, No. 302, November 1992, 40.

The article reports on the general disorganization of the recent regional elections in the Somali-dominated region of southeast Ethiopia, which left many questions unanswered by the Election Review Board. According to the author, many improvements would have to be made for the national elections scheduled to be held in 1993 to attain credibility. The article also reports on intimidation by the Ethiopian People's Revolutionary Democratic Front (EPRDF)-led government to force the local Somali population to form one of the government's "peoples democratic organizations" as a progovernment surrogate party in contesting elections.

Keyword(s): democracy; civil-military relations; Ethiopia

Shillington, Kevin. Ghana and the Rawlings Factor. New York: St. Martin's Press, 1992.

The book discusses civil-military relations in Ghana within the context of the 1979 and 1981 coups d'etat and the dominant role played by Flight Lieutenant J.J. Rawlings in the country's political life. The author concludes that Ghanaians have achieved a great deal under Provisional National Defence Council (PNDC) rule, with a sound financial basis laid for real economic development. Corruption and incompetence have also been substantially reduced under the PNDC, with a greater degree of integrity and accountability restored to the government. The greatest fault of the PNDC, according to the author, is its "cavalier" attitude toward human rights, with detention laws frequently abused. This has resulted in the PNDC losing the trust of many people and alienating some potential allies.

Keyword(s): civil-military relations; democracy

"Sierra Leone: How's the Revolution?," West Africa, No. 3916, October 5-11, 1992, 1656-57.

The article examines the achievements of the first five months of the National Provisional Ruling Council (NPRC) regime in Sierra Leone from the perspective of different constituencies. Among those who have benefited from the military revolution are the teachers and other public servants who have seen their salaries increase dramatically and the youth, who had been subjected to over 30 years of "misrule" by older men. Members of the press are cautiously optimistic about the NPRC regime, despite the promulgation of the Emergency Regulations decree that imposes some restrictions on the Fourth Estate. Others, however, particularly officials of the former regime are most unhappy with the revolution. Many of them have been beaten by over-zealous soldiers, and are subject to commissions of inquiry established to expose massive corruption in the former government.

Keyword(s): civil-military relations; Sierra Leone

"Sierra Leone: The Task Ahead," New African, No. 298, July 1992, 21-22.

The article reports on the attempt by the National Provisional Ruling Council (NPRC), the new military junta ruling Sierra Leone, to tighten the noose on those who are seen as plunderers of the country's financial resources by issuing a decree freezing the assets of all those who were politicians between June 1, 1986 and September 22, 1991. This decree also applies to former civil servants and officials of parastatals who were in government during the same period. These moves, according to the article, are only short-term solutions to the country's chronic problems of mismanagement and corruption.

Keyword(s): civil-military relations; Sierra Leone

Sklar, Richard L., and C.S. Whitaker. African Politics and Problems in Development. Boulder, Colorado: Lynn Rienner, 1991.

The book covers subjects such as African independence movements, the postcolonial crises in Nigeria, and the struggle for democracy and development. Individual chapters deal with scholarship in African studies, contradictions in the Nigerian political system, democracy in Nigeria, the nature of class domination in Africa, and Zimbabwe's experiment with democracy.

Keyword(s): democracy; civil-military relations

Sklar, Richard L., and Mark Strege. "Finding Peace Through Democracy in Sahelian Africa," Current History, 91, No. 565, May 1992, 224-29.

The article discusses the impact of the movement toward political democracy throughout Africa on the future resolution of some fifteen wars that have been raging in the region. It argues that increased political freedom, representative national conferences, and transitional governments with democratic objectives are instrumental in reducing the intensity of low-intensity type conflicts, such as civil wars. Specific conflicts examined in the article include the Tuareg insurrection in Mali and Niger, ethnic conflict in Mauritania, and civil war in Chad.

Keyword(s): democracy; civil-military relations

Smaldone, Joseph P. "National Security." Pages 253-322 in Nigeria: A Country Study. Helen Chapin Metz, ed. Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1992.

The chapter discusses the relationship in Nigeria between the armed forces and society, including attitudes toward the military, the military's political role, demographic factors and the defense budget, and civic action and veterans groups. There is also a discussion of the military's role in domestic security and the question of human rights. The author points out that while the armed forces cannot rule Nigeria indefinitely, no civilian successor regime can risk ignoring the military as a powerful political institution with ultimate power to remove and replace civilian authority. The military's

role in society has expanded as a result of long periods of military rule, a large share of national resources, and expanding linkages between the military and the nation's economy. Finally, the military plays a role in civic action, particularly in deploying army engineers to build bridges and roads in rural areas.

Keyword(s): civil-military relations; Nigeria

Somerville, Keith. "One Man Banda," New African, No. 298, July 1992, 11-13.

The article discusses the rise of protest movements in Malawi, as well as among exiled groups abroad, against the autocratic rule of Life President Kamuzu Banda. It points out that some of the pillars of Banda's rule have been crumbling, including a long-standing hostility between the army and the police. According to the author, the army has never been openly political or repressive, in contrast to the police and Special Branch. This rivalry may be a likely flashpoint in a tense political atmosphere, particularly because of army displeasure over the recent disappearance of army commander, Lt. Gen. Malvin Khanga.

Keyword(s): Malawi; democracy; civil-military relations

Somerville, Keith. "Africa Moves Towards Party Pluralism," World Today, August/September 1991, 152-55.

The article reports that African governments in the past used the police and the armed forces to crush popular, usually urban, discontent and protest, and would detain, beat or even murder the protesters. Occasionally, as in Burkina and Ghana, such measures led to a succession of military coups. Other countries would embark on short-term economic reform but rarely structural change. This process occurred because in many African countries constitutions proved unworkable, with Western-imposed parliamentary systems unsuitable for general conditions. Thus, in many states the army would seize power and impose autocratic central government rule, abolish constitutions and ban political parties. But not all forms of political

pluralism disappeared. In addition, with the coming to the fore of a new generation of Africans one-party governments or military rule became anachronisms, and they began to demand new political systems to solve grave economic problems. These factors, plus the collapse of communist regimes in Eastern Europe and pressure by Western donor states, have ushered in a new era in Africa favoring multiparty democratic systems. The author warns, however, that this political evolution will not necessarily lead to swift economic progress or eliminate government corruption.

Keyword(s): democracy; civil-military relations

Sorensen, Karen. Nigeria: On the Eve of "Change" - A Transition to What?. New York: Africa Watch, 1991.

The monograph examines the prospects for the transition in Nigeria from military to civilian rule, scheduled for October 1, 1992. It points out the contradictions inherent in such an attempt and charges that the military government has handled the transition in such a way as to stifle the democratic process. The military government pays little respect to the rule of law, and has interfered with civilian institutions during the transition period, greatly weakening their effectiveness as alternative voices at a crucial time. The author concludes that if the military government is serious about handing power to civilians it must immediately loosen its hold on the country's civilian institutions.

Keyword(s): Nigeria; civil-military relations; democracy

Sparks, Donald L., and December Green. Namibia: The Nation After Independence. Boulder, Colorado: Westview Press, 1992.

The authors discuss the policy of reconciliation adopted by the Namibian government in the postindependence period. This policy took the form of the creation of a "development brigade" composed of former People's Liberation Army of Namibia (PLAN), South-West African Territorial Forces, and Koevoet members. These

ex-soldiers were retrained as farmers and construction workers at former military bases.

Keyword(s): Namibia; civil-military relations; democracy

Suberu, R.T. "Political Opposition and Inter-governmental Relations in the Second Nigerian Republic," Journal of Commonwealth and Comparative Politics, 28, No. 3, November 1990, 269-87.

The article examines the relations between Nigeria's military government and its political opposition, which resulted in the creation of multipartyism in the country.

Keyword(s): civil-military relations; democracy

Tandon, Yashpal. Militarism and Peace Education in Africa: A Guide and Manual for Peace Education in Africa. Nairobi, Kenya: African Association for Literacy and Adult Education, 1989.

The booklet is the product of a working document for an interdisciplinary seminar organized by the African Association for Literacy and Adult Education in Lusaka, Zambia. It discusses the study and teaching of peace and militarism within the African context.

Keyword(s): civil-military relations; democracy

Thomas, Darryl C. and Ali A. Mazrui. "Africa's Post-Cold War Demilitarization: Domestic and Global Causes," Journal of International Affairs, 46, No. 1, 157-174.

With the end of the Cold War, there is renewed cooperation between the Northeast (the former Soviet Union and Warsaw Pact nations) and the Northwest (the United States, Western Europe, and Japan) to resolve all outstanding regional conflicts in the Third World. The authors believe that the new world order will result in a reduction of arms sales to sub-Saharan African nations.

Another factor contributing to the decline in African arms imports has been the wave of democratizing movements sweeping through the continent in the 1980s. The level of national bankruptcy in the continent is also limiting expenditures on arms, with peace becoming an economic necessity.

Keyword(s): civil-military relations; democracy

United Nations Institute for Disarmament Research. Africa, Disarmament and Security. New York: United Nations, 1991.

The monograph is based on proceedings of the Conference of African Research Institutes, held on 24-25 March 1990, in Algiers. The conference's theme dealt with disarmament and security problems in Africa, with the aim of resolving these problems through regional cooperation. A general conclusion expressed by the conference's participants is that development and stability lead to enhanced security, and that African countries must reshape their domestic structures to establish political pluralism, freedom, and socioeconomic justice.

Keyword(s): Africa; civil-military relations; disarmament

Vivekananda, Franklin, and Ibrahim James. "Militarism and the Crisis of Democracy in Africa, 1980-85," Scandinavian Journal of Development Alternatives, 9, No. 4, 1990, 79-94.

The article examines the role of the armed forces in African political systems, particularly their impact on hindering prospects for democracy.

Keyword(s): civil-military relations; democracy

Welch, Claude E. Jr. "The Military and Social Integration in Ethiopia." Pages 151-78, in Ethnicity, Integration, and the Military. Eds., Henry Dietz, Jerrold Elkin, and Maurice Roumani Boulder, Colorado: Westview Press, 1991.

The chapter analyzes the process by which the military regime that took power in Ethiopia in 1974 attempted to rule in the face of the country's economic, ethnic, religious, and social kaleidoscope. According to the author, the military officers solved the problem of internal dissent by initially cooperating with some civilian groups, followed by repression, political cooptation, and the establishment of new bases of legitimation. The author raises a number of questions, such as: are military leaders more likely to use force in the face of social cleavages than civilian leaders, can a country with over eighty nationalities achieve "true" integration, does compulsory military service increase national unity in spite of regional antagonisms, how can young officers serve as a "vanguard" for revolutionary transformation of society, and to what extent have the revolutionary changes since 1974 been the result of internal factors rather than external factors.

Keyword(s): civil-military relations; Ethiopia

Welsh, David. "The Outlook for a Democratic South Africa," International Affairs, 67, No. 4, October 1991, 739-53.

The article examines the conditions that led to negotiations between the South African government and the African National Congress (ANC), as well as the nature of both the governing National Party and opposition ANC, as both prepare to usher in a democratic political system. The author believes that the ANC has transcended its military orientation to become a powerful trade union movement and a mass-based organization concerned with attaining political power. At the same time, however, the author points out that the country's security forces have repeatedly attempted to undermine the negotiations between the ANC and the government by encouraging violence between Inkatha and ANC supporters. After discussing the negotiating and electoral strategies of the National Party and the ANC, the author concludes that a bitterly contested election pitting both these groups against each other would be a "traumatic, convulsive affair, with the potential for major violence and dramatically increased racial and ethnic polarization." He therefore recommends that the leaders of both parties, as well as Inkatha's



leader, Chief Buthelezi, agree to cooperate with each other in a government of national reconciliation; if they do not do so great instability will ensue.

Keyword(s): South Africa; civil-military relations

Widner, Jennifer A. "Kenya's Slow Progress toward Multiparty Politics," Current History, 91, No. 565, May 1992, 214-18.

The article discusses the adoption of a multiparty system by Kenya at the end of 1991, although no date for free elections has been set for the transition to full-fledged multiparty democracy. When the country becomes fully democratic, the highest echelons of its security establishment will be transformed from being currently predominantly staffed with President Daniel arap Moi's own ethnic group, the Kalenjin.

Keyword(s): Kenya; democracy; civil-military relations

Wiseman, John A. Political Leaders in Black Africa: A Biographical Dictionary of the Major Politicians since Independence. Brookfield, Vermont: Edward Elgar, 1991.

The volume provides several hundred biographical sketches of prominent political leaders in sub-Saharan Africa, including military officers involved in government. The biographical listings are arranged alphabetically.

Keyword(s): military leaders; civil-military relations; democracy; Africa

Wright, Stephen. "State-Consolidation and Social Integration in Nigeria: The Military's Search for the Elusive." Pages 179-207 in Ethnicity, Integration, and the Military. Eds., Henry Dietz, Jerrold Elkin, and Maurice Roumani Boulder, Colorado: Westview Press, 1991.

The chapter focuses on the attempts by the Nigerian military, during the period 1960-90, to foster nation

building, state consolidation and social integration within its own ranks as well as the larger society. It examines the effectiveness of the integrative process, which the author believes is necessary to promote stability within Nigeria, where there is a low degree of loyalty to the state and extreme sociocultural cleavages exist. It also analyzes whether military leadership is more effective than its civilian counterpart in promoting social integration and successful government, and whether the proposed transfer of power to civilians will affect the country's sociopolitical factors or is merely a breathing space before the military intervenes once again in the country's political arena.

Keyword(s): civil-military relations; Nigeria

Wunsch, James S., and Dele Olowu, eds. The Failure of the Centralized State: Institutions and Self-Governance in Africa. Boulder, Colorado: Westview Press, 1990.

The essays in this volume discuss the reasons why the overcentralized states in Africa have contributed to the present crisis in the continent. The chapters discuss how the practices of colonialism contributed to the introduction of strong centralized states; the economic strategies adopted by African leaders that failed to achieve economic prosperity; the reasons why certain decentralized programs have failed, including disagreement among scholars as to the causes of these failures; and specific countries in which centralization increased rather than eased the continent's underdevelopment. Particular countries covered include Senegal, Liberia, Ethiopia, Kenya, Tanzania, and Nigeria. In the concluding chapter, the editors argue that the ecological, economic, demographic, and political crises that have confronted Africa need not stand in the way of the introduction of self-governance.

Keyword(s): Africa; democracy

Yeboah-Afari, Ajoa. "Ghana: Hope for Peace Talks," West Africa, No. 3925, 7-13 December 1992, 2096-97.

The article reports on the decision of the New Patriotic Party (NPP) not to challenge in court the illegal results of the recent Ghanaian presidential elections because many NPP witnesses are refusing to testify for fear of being attacked, detained, or even killed by the military government's security forces.

Keyword(s): civil-military relations; democracy; Ghana

Yeboah-Afari, Ajoa. "Ghana: The Postponement and the Boycott" West Africa, No. 3924, November 30-December 6, 1992, 2054-2055.

The article reports on the impact of the rescheduling of the parliamentary elections in Ghana on the opposition parties' willingness to change their decision to boycott this vote. The author argues that early indications are that the postponement is of little concern to the opposition because the conditions for holding these elections have not changed. These include a faulty electoral register and a refusal by the electoral commission to investigate opposition complaints. The author concludes that the withdrawal of the opposition means that Flight Lieutenant Jerry Rawlings' National Democratic Congress will remain the only party to contest these elections.

Keyword(s): civil-military relations; democracy; Ghana

### Latin America

Adolfo Orueta, Gustavo. "La Politica de Defensa Nacional en Argentina: 1983-1989," Fuerzas Armadas y Sociedad [Santiago], 4, No. 3-4, 1989, 1-12.

The article is an excerpt of a paper delivered at the XVII Latin American Congress of Sociology held in Montevideo, Uruguay on 2-3 December 1988. The author presents a detailed narrative of the process of political negotiation

leading to the promulgation of the Law of National Defense of April 1988. A critical analysis is made of the military reform efforts of the Alfonsin administration and the Union Civica Radical (UCR) Party during the 1983-87 period. Alfonsin and the UCR are faulted for failing to establish a clear separation of internal and external security roles in their military reform program and for neglecting to elaborate an institutional role for the legislative branch in security policy. The author endorses the alternative military reform initiative of the Justicialista Party and the eventual compromise law signed in March 1988. He faults the Alfonsin administration for its failure to uphold the separation of internal and external security roles, especially during the suppression of the Monte Caseros uprising of January 1988. The author concludes that the failure of civilian political forces to impose a professionalization of the armed forces during the early stages of the posttransition period may allow the military to assume once again internal security functions under the rubric of a "neo-security" doctrine of defense against terrorism, narco-terrorism, and subversion.

Keyword(s): Argentina; armed forces' missions and strategy;; civil-military relations

Ansejo, Andres. "El Programa Militar de la Oposicion," Apsi [Santiago], 14, No. 300, April 17-23, 1989, 14-19.

The article discusses the military policy of the Concertacion political coalition prior to the general elections of December 1989. Several aspects of the Concertacion military policy are discussed, including reform of the constitutional statutes concerning the National Security Council, force reductions, modernization, reform of military industries, and civil-military relations. The author concludes that the military and Concertacion agree on the need for moderate force reductions and modernization of equipment, yet disagree strongly on reforms of military education and the proposed elimination of the National Security Council's veto powers.

Keyword(s): Chile; civil-military relations

Ansejo, Andres. "Ley Sobre Fuerzas Armadas: La Reforma del Minuto Final," Apsi [Santiago], 14, No. 309, 15-17.

The article discusses the reform of constitutional articles concerning the military and the promulgation of the Organic Laws of the Armed Forces immediately prior to the election of the civilian government. The Organic Laws are interpreted as an effort to preserve certain military corporate privileges in the posttransition environment, such as an independent military pension system and military budgets fixed at 1988 levels. The opposition political parties have generally acceded to the last-minute maneuverings of the military for the sake of a peaceful and orderly transition, intending as well to establish a consensual pattern of democratic government where the interests of all relevant political actors are taken into consideration. In the consensual system being contemplated, certain highly critical decisions having far-reaching consequences, such as those relating to military policy, would be reached only after broad-based consultation among political actors.

Keyword(s): Chile; civil-military relations

Arancibia R., Fernando. "Transformaciones Globales y Efectos Hemisfericos," Fuerzas Armadas y Sociedad [Santiago], 6, No. 1, January-March 1991, 1-5.

The article is an analysis by Chilean Army Brigadier General Fernando Arancibia on the national security implications for Latin America and Chile of the end of the Cold War. The author argues that the end of East-West conflict reframes the challenges to Latin American security. Among the security threats facing post-Cold War Latin America, underdevelopment constitutes a principal challenge. There also remains a legacy of unresolved border disputes dating from the early independence period that can potentially spark an arms race and lead to future conflicts. Although the threat of foreign support for subversive movements in the hemisphere has subsided with the withdrawal of Soviet support for Cuba and that country's economic deterioration, subversive groups can be expected to continue to exploit conditions of widespread poverty in their assaults on democratic regimes. Moreover, these groups can be expected to expand their links with

narcotraffickers and to engage more frequently in common criminal activity. Relations with the United States can be expected to follow an uncertain course, given that country's propensity to violate regional sovereignty and security agreements when its immediate interests are at stake. With the end of the Cold War, the Inter-American Treaty of Reciprocal Assistance is now obsolete and should be replaced by security agreements among the Latin American states. For the foreseeable future, Latin America's security and prosperity will be heavily dependent on its ability to devise mutually beneficial political and economic exchanges with the United States.

Keyword(s): Chile; armed forces' missions and strategy

Arancibia Reyes, Fernando. "Las Fuerzas Armadas de Chile, Su Estructura, Doctrina y Valores Fundamentales," Politica y Estrategia [Santiago], No. 54, January-August 1991, 17-30.

The article reproduces a discourse by Brigadier General Fernando Arancibia Reyes, delivered before the Center for the Study of Contemporary Reality (Centro de Estudios de la Realidad Contemporanea--CERC) on May 13, 1991. The author discusses the fundamental missions and doctrine of the Chilean armed forces under a democratic regime. Among the fundamental characteristics of the Chilean military are discipline, professionalism and obedience to constitutional authorities, including civilian functionaries. The author explicitly rejects the concept of the military as an exclusive repository of national values, arguing instead that patriotic values abound in all sectors of Chilean society, including the political class. The author contends that, although the constitution provides for exceptional periods where the military may be called upon to support police forces in maintaining internal order, the primary mission of the armed forces should be one of defense against external aggression. Internal security functions should be carried out only under exceptional conditions of nationwide crisis. A third priority of mission is one of providing logistical support for infrastructure development. Care should be taken so that development-related missions do not detract from the primary external defense mission. The author concludes that the armed forces should strive to demonstrate their

willingness to cooperate with civilian authorities and should retreat from doctrines that suggest a moral superiority of the military over civilian society.

Keyword(s): Chile; armed forces' missions and strategy; civil-military relations

Arriagada, Genaro. "Intereses Nacionales Contrapuestos de Chile y sus Vecinos e Hipotesis de Conflictos del Pais," Fuerzas Armadas y Sociedad [Santiago], 6, No. 2, April-June 1991, 42-47.

In addressing the issues of Chilean national security and state power, the author analyzes the impact of civil-military relations on democracy and national unity. The past sixty years have been characterized by a lack of consensus on civil-military relations. The segregation of civilians from the military at all levels of society and the consequent lack of professional coordination and consultation led to mutual interference in respective policy domains. Moreover, mutual misunderstandings led to the depiction of civil-military relations as a zero-sum game that eventually deteriorated into a negative sum game as the political system became increasingly polarized during the 1960s and 1970s. Civil-military relations should be formulated as a positive sum game where a balance exists between roles, and the integrity and professional competence of institutional actors are mutually respected.

Keyword(s): Chile; civil military relations; national security strategy

Aylwin, Patricio. "Mensaje del Presidente Aylwin al Congreso Nacional (Capitulo Referido a la Defensa Nacional)," Fuerzas Armadas y Sociedad [Santiago], 6, No. 2, April-June 1991, 33-35.

The article reproduces the section on national defense of a discourse by President Aylwin delivered before the Chilean Congress on 21 May 1991. The consolidation of Chilean democracy requires that the armed forces perceive

themselves as being understood and supported by the citizenry and political authorities in their institutionalized roles. Concurrently, civilian political authorities must perceive the military as a professional, hierarchical, and politically nondeliberative organization. Democracy has proven to be an environment that is highly conducive to the institutional development and modernization of the armed forces, as evidenced by the nearly unanimous congressional approval of the latest national defense budget. Along these lines, Chile has embarked on a program of international military cooperation that will greatly modernize the material and human resources of the military. Among the forces, the navy has embarked on an extensive program of research in the areas of maritime geology, oceanic ecology, and global meteorology. The army has developed programs to perfect its human and material resources and has assisted in the creation of infrastructure in remote areas. The air force continues to develop the national aeronautics industry, and, through its donation of a transport helicopter unit, assumed support functions in the multilateral peacekeeping effort in the Persian Gulf.

Keyword(s): Chile; civil-military relations;; armed forces; missions and strategy

Aylwin, Patricio. "Mensaje del Presidente Patricio Aylwin al Congreso Nacional (Aspectos Referidos a las Fuerzas Armadas)," Fuerzas Armadas y Sociedad [Santiago], 7, No. 2, April-June 1992, 45-46.

The article reproduces the section on civil-military relations of a Presidential address to the Chilean National Congress, delivered by Chilean President Patricio Aylwin on May 21, 1992. President Aylwin outlines his administration's achievements in improving civil-military relations during the past two years and reiterates the fundamental objectives of the government's military policy. In its efforts to promote professionalization and institutional development of the armed forces, the government has encouraged the military's participation in joint exercises with friendly foreign forces, as well as Chilean military participation in international peacekeeping missions. The President urges passage of the



government's constitutional reform package establishing Presidential authority to appoint and remove the armed services chiefs, stressing that such authority is an essential feature of democratic government.

Keyword(s): Chile; civil-military relations

Berhongaray, Antonio T.. "Hacia una Doctrina de Defensa Nacional." Pages 55-69 in Seminario Internacional de Defensa. Buenos Aires: Fundacion Sergio Karakachoff, 1989.

In a discourse delivered at the National Defense Seminar (1988) sponsored by the Foundation for the Study of National Issues (Fundacion para el Estudio de Temas Nacionales--Futena) held in Buenos Aires. Senator Berhongaray outlines the history of Argentine defense strategy.

He contends that defeat in the Malvinas War demonstrated the inadequacy of the broad definition of national security inherited from the Peronist corporatist tradition that interpreted all aspects of development as directly relevant to national security, and internal warfare strategies adopted from United States and French counterinsurgency doctrines. The United States' position in the Malvinas War demonstrated the inadequacy of a national defense strategy that relied on the regional superpower for external defense.

The United States no longer plays a tutorial role in Latin American defense strategies. There is a growing independence of Latin American defense policies, especially in Argentina and Brazil. Increased Argentine-Brazilian cooperation in naval operations and aerospace projects demonstrates a growing awareness of shared security interests. The national security doctrine is being replaced by the doctrine of a "secure region," based on regional integration and promotion of shared interests.

Keyword(s): Argentina; national security

Caceres, Carlos. "Fuerzas Armadas y Democracia," Memorial del Ejercito de Chile [Santiago], 84, No. 434, 1990, 5-15.

The article reproduces a discourse by a former Chilean Minister of Interior of the military government delivered at the National Academy of Political and Strategic Studies (Academia Nacional de Estudios Politicos y Estrategicos--ANEPE) on March 6, 1990. The author discusses military intervention in Chilean politics from 1970 to 1990, arguing that the armed forces dutifully exercised their right of rebellion during the 1973 coup in order to safeguard the democratic institutional order. Moreover, Caceres contends that the Constitution of 1980 restored the viability of democracy by providing for a guardian function of the military in defense of the constitution, thereby establishing a permanent political role for the armed forces. This permanent political role, defined by the 1980 constitution as the duty to safeguard the institutional order of the republic, compels the military to maintain a command structure that is independent of civilian political authority. The military's independent capacity to defend the constitution is guaranteed by the inability to remove the commanders of the armed forces and the national police and the advisory authority of the National Security Council. The author concludes that, through these mechanisms, the military continue to fulfill their duty to defend the fundamental values of the Chilean nation against partisan or hostile intent.

Keyword(s): Chile; civil-military relations; armed forces; missions and strategy

Cadenazzo, Enzo. "Efectos de los Cambios Estrategicos Globales en Estados Unidos y America Latina: Comentario del Teniente Coronel Sr. Enzo Cadenazzo," Fuerzas Armadas y Sociedad [Santiago], 5, No. 3, July-September 1990, 12-15.

The article is a commentary by Lieutenant Colonel Enzo Cadenazzo on the implications for Latin America and the United States of global strategic transformations. In gauging the effects of global strategic transitions, the author argues that the immediate effects will be much more profound for Europe and the United States than for Latin

America. Whereas the latter will experience a newfound security, Latin American states will continue to experience tension and relative insecurity as a result of the persistence of social and economic crises and territorial disputes. Among the factors that negatively influence Latin American security are the debt crisis, guerrilla insurgencies, narcotrafficking, populism, territorial disputes, uneasy civil-military relations, social unrest, and the regional arms race. Concurrently, the United States image as the regional dominant power has experienced a progressive deterioration because of the unilateral manner in which it has historically advanced its interests. Moreover, the single-minded United States approach to narcotrafficking and the potential for military intervention under the banner of the drug war have further eroded United States military leadership capabilities in the region. Latin American states should therefore strive for political, military, and economic integration projects that respect the sovereignty of independent states while advancing common interests. Among the possible fields of cooperation are development of common military industries, creation of zones of shared military responsibility, logistical cooperation and intelligence sharing in low-intensity conflicts, revitalizing the Inter-American Defense Council within the Organization of American States, and reaffirming the role of the Conference of American Armies.

Keyword(s): Chile; armed forces' missions and strategy

Cardoso, Oscar R.. "El Nuevo Papel Para las Fuerzas Armadas: Otro Manual Militar," Clarín [Buenos Aires], March 30, 1992, .

The author argues that Argentine President Carlos Menem has taken a lead in proposing a joint Latin American military force under the command of the Organization of American States (OAS) and the radical reorganization of the Interamerican Defense Board into a regional defense system. Such an inter-American force would be involved in containing transnational security threats, such as narcotrafficking and large-scale guerrilla insurgencies. The author observes that both proposals have met with skepticism from Brazil and Mexico, which are resisting

efforts to redefine concepts of sovereignty to allow for OAS intervention on behalf of democracy. Moreover, several practical obstacles stand in the way of an inter-American force, such as the Mexican constitutional provision that prohibits the Mexican military from operating in foreign countries, and the explicit recognition by the OAS Charter of the United Nations' exclusive responsibility in fielding multilateral military forces around the world.

Keyword(s): Argentina; armed forces' missions and strategy

Cardoso, Oscar R.. "La Incognita Militar," Clarín [Buenos Aires], April 19, 1992, .

The author argues that President Alberto Fujimori's assumption of expanded presidential powers has placed the Peruvian armed forces in a pivotal political position. Because of its extraconstitutional nature, the new Fujimori government can no longer claim democratic legitimacy and must rely on the armed forces for political support. Such a situation enhances the political role of the military, which now finds itself centrally positioned to influence the course of political events. The author contends that the military's loyalty to Fujimori is by no means certain, because it is conditioned in part on an implicit understanding that Fujimori would not prosecute army officers suspected of drug-related corruption. Consequently, military adherence to the new regime is in fact loosely based and subject to future dissolution if Fujimori succumbs to United States pressure to prosecute the implicated officers.

Keyword(s): Peru; civil-military relations

Cerda Bozzo, Jose. "Vision de Estadista o Amenaza?," Memorial del Ejercito de Chile [Santiago], 83, No. 433, 1989, 127-53.

The article, written by a lieutenant colonel of the Chilean army, intends to provide a comparative analysis of civil-military relations under civilian rule in Argentina and Uruguay, deducing from these the possible course of

civil-military relations in posttransition Chile. The author presents a highly critical account of the Argentine and Uruguayan civilian government efforts at military reform based on the assumption that they were inspired by leftist political forces intent on dividing and ultimately destroying the armed forces of their respective countries. The author views negatively what he interprets as the dismantling and subordination of the Argentine armed forces by the government of President Raul Alfonsin, attributing this state of affairs to the military's inability to control the transition process after 1982. He is similarly critical of the Uruguayan military reform process, noting however that the military in this case wielded greater control over the transition than in Argentina, and were therefore better able to preserve their powers as guardians of the institutional order. Regarding the Chilean transition, the author interprets the coalition government's program as fundamentally hostile to the armed forces and the national interest. He interprets the government's plan for constitutional reform of civil-military relations as a project to divide and weaken the armed forces and further the maximalist political objectives of the communist and socialist parties.

Keyword(s): Chile; civil-military relations

Ceresole, Norberto. "El Ejercito Nacional en Estado de Rebeldia." (Working Paper) Buenos Aires: Instituto Latinoamericano de Cooperacion Tecnologica y Relaciones Internacionales, June 1990.

The author argues that the government's military reform policy has led to a virtual dismantling of the Argentine armed forces and severely compromised the country's defense capabilities. To save the Argentine nation from imminent disintegration, the author contends that the armed forces must resume a prominent role as a political and moral force within Argentine society. In order to break the immobility of the Argentine state, the armed forces are encouraged actively to resist the policies of the current government and to press for an agenda of national renewal based on nationalist and developmental policies. The author calls for the emergence of a

"parallel power" within the state that will defend basic national interests against reckless partisan politics.

Keyword(s): Argentina; civil-military relations

Ceresole, Norberto. Tecnologia Militar y Estrategia Nacional. Buenos Aires: Editorial Pleamar, 1991.

The author contends that current reductions in the Argentine military-industrial complex are detrimental to the national interest and will ultimately lead to perpetual dependence on the United States and the advanced industrial states. The loss of national defensive capabilities will relegate Argentina to the category of "excluded" state in an emerging global order based on regional blocs of "included" nations. To reverse its downward spiral of national power, the author recommends that Argentina promote export-oriented defense industries as an engine of growth for the rest of the Argentine economy. The defense economy should also serve to break the cycle of dependence on imported technologies and establish the southern cone of South America as a competitive industrial zone. The author further recommends that the nation's military capabilities be restored in order to allow for defense of basic national interests.

Keyword(s): Argentina; armed forces' missions and strategy

Cuevas Farren, Gustavo. "Las Fuerzas Armadas y Transicion a la Democracia en America Latina," Politica [Santiago], No. 22-23, June 1990, 82-99.

The author compares the roles played by the armed forces in transitions to democracy in Argentina, Brazil and Uruguay, intending to develop models of military political activity in democratizing regimes. By analyzing the cases of three southern cone transitions, the author seeks to determine the extent to which the military act progressively as agents of change or conservatively as defenders of corporate privileges and traditional values. Comparative analysis of transitions also demonstrates the degree to which political pacts between the military and

political elites structure the long-term options for political reform and democratic consolidation.

Keyword(s): Latin America; civil-military relations

Cuevas Farren, Gustavo. "Los Actores Politicos de Oposicion y su Posicion Frente a las Fuerzas Armadas," Politica [Santiago], No. 24/25, December 1990, 83-108.

The author analyzes the evolution of policy toward the military among the major sectors of the Chilean opposition political parties during the military regime. The prospective treatment of the military by a future civilian government was a central issue in the negotiations for a transition in the late 1980s. The strategy of the Christian Democratic Party (Partido Demócrata Cristiano, (PDC)) was to provide a "soft landing" for the armed forces as they withdrew from political power. The PDC policy toward the armed forces in a future democratic regime embraced the principle of nondebilitation on political affairs by the armed forces, as stipulated in the 1980 Constitution. The PDC rejected the legal provision for immobility of the commanders in chief and the granting of legislative veto power to the National Security Council. Furthermore, the PDC was clearly opposed to the continuation of General Augusto Pinochet's command of the army after the transition, arguing that Pinochet was a divisive figure intent on maintaining military interference in political affairs. A more radical strategy was proposed by the Socialist Party (Partido Socialista, (PS)), whose members sought fundamental reform and restructuring of the armed forces following the model of the Alfonsín administration in Argentina. The PS also promoted vigorous prosecution of human rights abuse cases. Upon unification of the opposition into the Concert of Parties for Democracy (Concertación de Partidos por la Democracia), the Socialists' military policy was discarded in favor of the more moderate PDC proposals. Upon assuming the duties of government, the Concertación implemented many of the moderate military policies originally proposed by its PDC component.

Keyword(s): Chile; civil-military relations

Denegri, Guillermo. "Entrevista al General Sinesio Jarama," Debate [Lima], 11, No. 55, March-May 1989, 8-15.

The author interviews retired Peruvian army General Siniesio Jarama on the issue of armed forces involvement in the counterinsurgency campaign against Sendero Luminoso. The interviewee argues that in order to be successful, the repressive component of counterinsurgency must be part of a broader political and social state-led project to eliminate the insurgency's bases of support. Such a combined project has been lacking in Peru, leaving the armed forces as the sole line of defense for Peruvian democracy. The consequent overload in armed forces responsibility, especially in zones of emergency military administration, leads to inefficiency and gradual politicization of the military. General Siniesio further argues that the armed forces should not be directly involved in the war on narcotrafficking because engagement in the drug war would expose the military to corruption. The role of the armed forces in Peruvian democracy should be one of integration within the state and society. Peruvian democracy is sufficiently well-entrenched that the military can dedicate itself to strictly professional roles, leaving public administration and policymaking to qualified civilian authorities.

Keyword(s): Peru; armed forces' missions and strategy

Diamint, Rut Clara. "Cambios en la Politica de Seguridad: Argentina en Busca de un Perfil no Conflictivo," Fuerzas Armadas y Sociedad [Santiago], 7, No. 1, January-March 1992, 1-16.

The article addresses various aspects of Argentina's new foreign and defense policies under the Menem administration, including military reform and the assignment of new missions to the armed forces. The end of the Cold War and the spread of democracy in Latin America have stimulated a shift of Argentine national security policy toward regional integration and active participation in the collective security apparatus of the United Nations. Internally, military reform has strengthened civilian constitutional control over the military and has initiated the modernization and streamlining of the armed forces. The missions of the



Argentine armed forces are now defined in accordance with a comprehensive national security strategy that specifies four fundamental military roles: (1) deterrence in defense of national territory from external aggression (2) guaranteeing the integrity of the nation's natural resources, including the exclusive economic zone, the national seabed, airspace, and landspace; (3) collaboration in the creation of a secure region, through participation in bilateral and multilateral regional security arrangements; (4) participation in peacekeeping operations of the United Nations, Organization of American States, and other organizations committed to promoting peace and democracy. Furthermore, Argentina has actively promoted regional agreements to eliminate weapons of mass destruction from Latin America, and has endeavored to harmonize its weapons-export activities with its national foreign policy objectives.

Keyword(s): Argentina; armed forces' missions and strategy; civil-military relations

Donadio, Marcela. "Militares y Defensa en el Congreso Nacional," Fuerzas Armadas y Sociedad [Santiago], 4, No. 3-4, 1989, 13-20.

The article is an excerpt from a paper presented at the XVII Latin American Congress of Sociology held in Montevideo, Uruguay on 2-3 December 1988. The author presents an analytical study of the incidence of congressional action in defense and national security-related issues. Statistical analysis of national security-related legislative action reveals that the Chamber of Deputies assumed an active role in the submission of defense-related projects, having been responsible for 77.7 percent of all defense-related proposals. However, despite the preponderance of legislative initiatives related to defense, twenty-four of the thirty-six defense-related laws passed during the 1983-88 period originated as executive branch proposals, whereas only four laws originated within the Senate and eight laws originated within the Chamber of Deputies. The article presents a variety of detailed findings, including a breakdown of the sponsorship of defense-related legislation by political party.

Keyword(s): Argentina; civil-military relations; armed forces' missions and strategy

Duran, Roberto. "Politica de Defensa y Politica Exterior: Notas Para una Presentacion Tematica," Fuerzas Armadas y Sociedad [Santiago], 6, No. 1, January-March 1991, 21-26.

The article discusses the issue of coordination of foreign and defense policies in the Chilean democratic regime. Traditionally, Chilean foreign policy has been the exclusive domain of the civilian diplomatic corps, whereas defense policy has been the exclusive domain of the military. Given the high degree of interdependence and overlap of these policy domains, there is a need for greater coordination and exchange between civilians and the military in the formulation of comprehensive national security strategies. Three factors influence the military's attitudes toward the political formulation of national security strategies in a democratic environment: inviolability of the institutionalized chain of command, obedience to the individual commander in chief, and the legacy of segregation of civilian and military policy domains (i.e. diplomacy versus defense policy). There is need for a new professionalism among the diplomatic corps and the military that will define and establish domains of joint responsibility and coordinated policymaking.

Keyword(s): Chile; civil-military relations

Ferreira Vidigal, Armando. "Las Fuerzas Armadas y los Nuevos Problemas de la Seguridad." (Paper presented at the Seminar on New Challenges to the Sovereignty and Security of Latin America, July 1989.) Santiago: Comision Sudamericana de Paz, July 1989.

Historically, the countries of South America have geared their military institutions to respond to three types of challenges: global conflict between the two superpowers, revolutionary war instigated by the international communist movement, and regional war resulting from local territorial disputes and expansionism. As all three of these security challenges begin to subside, the Latin

American armed forces find themselves in an existential crisis. Transitions to democracy throughout Latin America have undermined the national security doctrine's preoccupation with internal warfare and have forced the military to reconsider their primary mission of defense against external threats.

A new concept of security should be broadly defined to include issues of development. The armed forces can play a constructive role in promoting development through research and development, assisting infrastructure expansion, and consolidating the national domain in underpopulated frontier areas. The armed forces can also play a role in supporting police agencies in combatting narcotrafficking, so long as that support remains essentially logistical and does not entail direct use of military force. The primary mission of the armed forces should continue to be external defense through effective deterrence. This mission requires the maintenance of modern, well- equipped armed forces sustained by economically feasible budgets. Efforts toward economic and military integration should be encouraged, although they will meet increasing resistance from local military establishments. Regional integration is a positive step that will augment Latin America's bargaining position in North-South disputes over resources and sovereignty issues and will reduce the United States' hegemonic role.

Keyword(s): South America; armed forces' missions and strategy;; civil-military relations

Ferreira Vidigal, Armando. "Son Insustituibles las Fuerzas Armadas? Su Rol Ante la Actual Conyuntura," Notas de Paz/Prensa [Santiago], June 1992, Comision Sudamericana de Paz, 4-5.

Retired Brazilian Admiral Ferreira Vidigal writes a brief essay on the role of Latin America's armed forces in the new international order. He argues that demands for drastic reductions in military expenditures that invoke the end of the Cold War and trends toward Latin American integration threaten the future security of Brazil. Reduced East-West confrontation will be replaced by greater instability in international relations and

increased North-South tension. A sustained balance of power in Latin America would more effectively promote regional integration than would meaningless disarmament.

The author foresees three principal areas of North-South confrontation: technological apartheid, environmental issues, and narcotrafficking issues. He accuses the United States of blocking Third World access to leading technologies based on a discriminatory criterion of weapons nonproliferation. The author considers the possibility of First World intervention in Third World territories in defense of the environment. Illegal migration will also exacerbate North-South tensions. The writer endorses the political, economic, and military integration of Latin America as a necessary measure for enhancing the bargaining power of regional states confronting First World pressures and challenging the international economic status quo.

Keyword(s): Latin America; armed forces' missions and strategy

Fitch, J. Samuel. "Military Professionalism, National Security and Democracy: Lessons from the Latin American Experience," Pacific Focus, 4, No. 2, Fall 1989, 99-147.

The article examines the evolution of military professionalism in Latin America during the twentieth century and its implications for democratic government. The author analyzes the transition from a nominally classical professionalism that emphasized external defense and geopolitics to a politicized professionalism that defined national security broadly to include economic development and internal security.

Three variants of the "new professionalism" have emerged: developmentalist (Brazil and Argentina), nationalist (Ecuador, Peru, and Panama) and neoconservative (southern cone during the 1970s). Although Latin America's armed forces currently prefer to avoid direct military rule, the military's mission continues to be defined broadly in terms of national security, with a primary emphasis on internal security. The renewed interest in external defense and military technology appears to be concentrated

in the naval and air forces of the larger countries. Among the ground forces, internal aggression is still considered a primary security threat.

The author concludes that the implication of continuing internal threat perception is the emergence of two types of restricted democracies: "conditional" and "tutelary" democracies.

Keyword(s): Latin America; civil-military relations

Fontana, Andres. "El Rol de las Fuerzas Armadas en el Estado Democratico: El Caso Argentino en Perspectiva," Fuerzas Armadas y Sociedad [Santiago], 6, No. 3, July-September 1991, 36-40.

The article presents an analytical interpretation of civil-military relations in democratic regimes, comparing Argentina to the theoretical model of civil-military relations established by Samuel Huntington. In a democratic political system, the armed forces perform three basic functions within the state. These are representation of society's security interests, advising civilian authorities in security matters, and execution of missions formulated by civilian political authorities. Fontana argues that the first function, that of representation of society's security interests, has been frequently misinterpreted by Latin American militaries as an obligation to override democratic government when the state is threatened. Fontana argues that the armed forces' representative role should be understood as essentially symbolic in nature and not operational under any circumstances. In Argentina the majority of the military have demonstrated a formidable commitment to democratic civil-military relations in light of the severe budgetary cutbacks and morale problems undergone by the military during the past decade of civilian rule. Despite initial misunderstandings and a high level of mistrust between civilians and the military, Argentina has had a measure of success in improving civil-military communication and in training civilian personnel in security-related affairs in the post-transition period.

Keyword(s): Argentina; civil-military relations

Fontana, Andres. "La Cuestion Militar en Visperas de Elecciones," Fuerzas Armadas y Sociedad [Santiago], [Santiago], 4, No. 3-4, 1989, 21-22.

The article is a brief analysis of Argentine civil-military relations in the period immediately prior to the presidential elections of 14 May 1989. The author argues that military attitudes toward the civilian government are influenced by two principal factors: the unresolved internal conflict within the army and the electoral process. There is a continuing horizontal fracture that divides many mid-level officers from higher ranking colonel and general grade officers. Several aspects of military reform have yet to be addressed, including the passage of a Law of Internal Security and auxiliary national security laws dealing with intelligence, defense production, deployment of the armed forces and military service. There is a sharp contrast between President Alfonsin's and Carlos Menem's conceptions of civil-military relations. Whereas Alfonsin is more willing to impose civilian supremacy over the military through confrontational policies, Menem has demonstrated a perception of the military as a corporative power with whom the civilian government must negotiate.

Keyword(s): Argentina; civil-military relations

Frei Bolivar, Arturo. "El Papel de las Fuerzas Armadas en la Democracia Chilena," Fuerzas Armadas y Sociedad [Santiago], 6, No. 3, July-September 1991, 43-48.

The article reproduces a discourse by Chilean Senator Arturo Frei delivered as part of a seminar on the role of the armed forces in Chilean democracy at the Universidad Andres Bello, held on August 5, 1991. The author examines the deterioration of Chilean civil-military relations during the past fifty years, noting a progressive distancing of the armed forces from civil society during the period preceding the military coup of September 11, 1973. Segregation of the armed forces from civilian society made possible an independent, antidemocratic ideological formation of the forces under the doctrine of national security developed during the 1960s. Upon their assumption of power, the regular units of the armed forces were strictly segregated from society and the state in

order to avoid their politicization. Furthermore, the legacy of human rights abuses during the military regime established a negative image of the military among large sectors of the civilian population. Upon the resumption of civilian democratic rule, civil-military tensions resurfaced over budgetary matters, human rights, and the constitutional framework of civil-military relations. The key to establishing constructive civil-military relations in Chile lies in the establishment of a consensus over civilian and military realms of authority and over military missions in the post-Cold War world. Among future missions for the armed forces will be participation in an integrated regional defense system, defense of maritime and Antarctic interests, defense of the national environment, research and development of key industries, and the construction of infrastructure in remote underdeveloped areas of the nation.

Keyword(s): Chile; civil-military relations; armed forces' missions and strategy

Gamba-Stonehouse, Virginia. "Missions and Strategy: The Argentine Example." Pages 165-76 in The Military and Democracy: The Future of Civil-Military Relations in Latin America. Eds., Louis W. Goodman, Johanna S.R. Mendelson, and Juan Rial. Lexington: Lexington Books, 1990.

In South America, the armed forces have usually taken a leading role in the formation and development of the nation. The military has perceived its role to have been the foundation of independence and national unity; it feels it is its duty to interpret the wishes of the "silent majority" in its societies, particularly when internal disorder or government immobility on development and economic issues threatens the future of the nation state. An inevitable conclusion is that a military takeover of civilian government is inevitable.

When an upsurge in democratic governments ensues in South America, the political role of the military is diminished or even obliterated. This fact is reflected in public opinion precisely because the military's professional role and duties in defense are not considered and/or perceived outside military institutions.

The armed forces of Argentina perceive themselves as passing through a multidimensional crisis in the country's transition to, and consolidation of, democracy. There has been a lack of reintegration of the armed forces within the social structure of their country on a recognized, valid, and harmonious basis. Also lacking are clear directives by the civilian leadership regarding the effective role of the military instrument for the future. Democratic government has not yet broken away from the previous mode of coordinating at the top. Thus far it has not succeeded in establishing and consolidating strong interagency linkages or in reinforcing civil-military relations. It would seem, therefore, that this trait is a problem of the Argentine governmental system rather than a purely military or purely civilian mode of behavior.

The main problems now surfacing in civil-military relations in Argentina during the consolidation of democratic government are precisely those concerned with the need for professionalism at real and perceptual levels. There is also a need to limit interservice rivalries and to reinforce the Joint Chiefs of Staff, as well as to improve civil-military relations and construct communication and coordination channels at interagency levels.

Keyword(s): Argentina; armed forces' missions and strategy

Garasino, Alberto M.. "Droga y Politica," Revista Argentina de Estudios Estrategicos [Buenos Aires], 6, No. 11, July-September 1989, 13-39.

The author provides a critical analysis of United States drug enforcement efforts during the 1980s and describes Argentina's efforts to stem the flow of drugs through its territory. Although Argentina is neither a significant producer nor consumer of cocaine, it risks becoming a transshipment point for Andean narcotics destined for the European market. Because of its transnational nature, the drug war should count on high levels of coordination between neighboring states as could occur, for example, between Argentina and the other states of the southern cone of South America. The author concludes that direct participation in the drug war by foreign or domestic armed



forces is not advisable because narcotics interdiction is primarily a police function. Armed forces participation might involve the military in renewed violations of human rights and subject the armed forces to further delegitimation. Nevertheless, the armed forces should be prepared to intervene against any insurgencies that may appear in association with drug- trafficking activities.

Keyword(s): Argentina; armed forces' missions and strategy

Garcia Lupo, Rogelio. "America Latina: El Nuevo Interes de los Militares" Revista Nueva [Buenos Aires], May 17, 1992, 14-15.

The author contends that the armed forces of the southern cone of Latin America are reluctant to dismantle their defense industries. Of critical importance to the outcome of defense conversion in Latin America will be the example set by the United States, where defense conversion and downsizing of forces have been delayed in order to avoid increased unemployment and a deepening recession. The author contends that Secretary of Defense Cheney's arguments for defense industry conversion in Latin America have been ignored and that Latin American militaries are looking to the United States military, and not its politicians, for solutions to the existential crisis of the armed forces in the post-Cold War era. The author concludes that poverty and underdevelopment are of increasing concern to Latin America's militaries, which may lead to a new wave of military populism and political activism in the region.

Keyword(s): Latin America; armed forces' missions and strategy

Garcia-Sayan, Diego. "Terrorismo y Pacificacion en el Peru," Estudios Internacionales [Santiago], 23, No. 90, April-June 1990, 221-39.

The article analyzes the Sendero Luminoso's campaign of nationwide terrorism and the Peruvian states' counterinsurgency strategy. The author maintains that the

campaigns against Sendero Luminoso should be essentially political, focusing on strengthening traditionally weak democratic institutions such as the judiciary and local government. The law-enforcement aspect of counterinsurgency should be relegated to a support function. In reality, military planning has driven the logic of the counterinsurgency effort, undermining the very institutions that legitimize the state through the imposition of direct military rule and the deposition of civilian authority in large sections of the country. The author concludes that the current strategy of counterinsurgency is the result of an historical pattern of civil-military relations characterized by mutual exclusion of civilian and military domains of policymaking. To be successful in the long run, Peru's counterinsurgency efforts must ultimately be led by civilians making political overtures to civil society.

Keyword(s): Peru; civil-military relations

Goodman, Louis W. and Johanna S. R. Mendelson. "The Threat of New Missions: Latin American Militaries and the Drug War." Pages 189-94 in The Military and Democracy: The Future of Civil-Military Relations in Latin America. Eds., Louis W. Goodman, Johanna S.R. Mendelson, and Juan Rial. Lexington: Lexington Books, 1990.

The authors examine the role of Latin American militaries in the "war on drugs" and its implications for civil-military relations. The proposed militarization of the war on drugs is the latest manifestation on the part of Latin American militaries of the preoccupation with internal security. As with military counterinsurgency activities of the 1960s, direct Latin American military participation in the drug war would involve the armed forces in police tasks that are technically within the civilian domain. It would also require mastery of a complex combination of political and military skills, probably necessitating the expansion of military intelligence operations. It would blur the line between appropriate and inappropriate domains for military professional actions, and it would expand the managerial roles played by the military in society. It would also

increase the role military men play in national politics and political decision making.

A long-term solution to the drug trafficking problem includes inducing massive decreases in narcotics consumption and funding worthwhile alternative activities for producers of narcotic substances. This is a task for all nations in the hemisphere. In the short term, to the extent possible, the United States and Latin American nations must strive to support police and border patrol action against drug abuse, production and, transport. Particularly important are bilateral and multilateral agreements permitting hemispheric partners to work together to stem the flow of illegal substances and profits. Finally, civilians and military men are in agreement that the drug war as a mission for the military can be considered only when all other options have failed.

Keyword(s): Latin America; civil-military relations; armed forces' missions and strategy

Gorriti, Gustavo. "Insurgencia y Democracia," Debate [Lima], 12, No. 59, March-April 1990, 49-51.

The author argues that the conventional counterinsurgency strategies of Third-World democracies are inadequate because they fail to capitalize on the strengths of democratic government. The basic principles of counterinsurgency in a democratic regime are easily applicable and can simultaneously bolster democratic legitimacy. These principles include civilian control of the counterinsurgency campaign; predominance of political over military solutions; close collaboration among all segments of the public sector in the prosecution of a global policy directed primarily at the political component of insurgency and, secondarily, at its military component; strict adherence to the law in order to maximize the effect of democratic legitimacy; restriction of the use of force to cases of absolute necessity, bearing in mind that the objective of counterinsurgency is to win the hearts and minds of the citizenry; improvement of intelligence capabilities to increase the selective nature of forceful action; and the use, whenever possible,

of nonviolent methods, such as incentives, to gain the surrender of insurgents.

Keyword(s): Peru; armed forces' missions and strategy

Goyret, Jose T.. "Hacia una Doctrina de Defensa Nacional." Pages 69-78 in Seminario Internacional de Defensa. Buenos Aires: Fundacion Sergio Karakachoff, 1989.

Retired Argentine Brigadier General Goyret delivered this discourse at the Seminar on National Defense sponsored by the Foundation for the Study of National Issues (Futena) held in Buenos Aires in 1988. He briefly analyzes the Law of National Defense enacted by the Alfonsin administration and its implications for the concept of national defense. The language of Article 2 of the defense law establishes an overly restrictive definition of national defense. The law's limited applicability only to external defense unnecessarily restricts the state's defensive capabilities with regard to possible internal threats. The defense law's provisions regarding the powers of the minister of defense are an inappropriate delegation of the president's duties as commander in chief. Goyret concludes that the concept of national security must be broadly defined to meet unforeseen security challenges.

Keyword(s): Argentina; armed forces' missions and strategy

Grecco, Jorge and Gustavo Gonzalez. Argentina: El Ejercito Que Tenemos. Buenos Aires: Editorial Sudamericana, 1990.

Written by two Argentine journalists, the book contains interviews with several active and retired military officers, high-ranking government officials, and civilian experts on military affairs. The topics discussed include military ideology, education, missions and strategy, and civil-military relations. The section on missions and strategy seeks to analyze the fundamental strategic perspectives of the Argentine armed forces following the global changes of the late 1980s and early 1990s, and to determine the nature of structural reforms that accompanied the downsizing of forces during the 1980s. The

section on civil-military relations analyzes the fundamental differences between military and civilian sectors of society, examining the perceptions and prejudices held by each group concerning the other.

Keyword(s): Argentina; civil-military relations; armed forces' missions and strategy

Guedes da Costa, Thomas. "Postura Estrategica de los Países Sudamericanos en la Decada de los Noventa," Fuerzas Armadas y Sociedad [Santiago], 5, No. 2, 1990, 14-21.

At a time when the likelihood of conflict between the superpowers is decreasing and the countries of the region are attempting to consolidate their democratic regimes, the role and function of the South American armed forces becomes an overarching theme. An attractive option is one in which the armed forces would initiate and conclude a process of returning to their professional activities, namely national defense. Paradoxically, although this trend would reassure national groups with respect to internal national politics, such a proposal would generate insecurity and uncertainty among the neighboring countries of South America. Issues such as the ultimate destiny and sovereignty of Antarctica, the fate of the tropical rainforests, and the fight against narcotrafficking require further analysis because they may provoke confrontations between states as a result of misunderstandings or implicit threats. These issues offer a broad basis for cooperation on a regional level and with extraregional states.

Keyword(s): Latin America; armed forces' missions and strategy

Guitierrez Valdebenito, Omar L.. "La Profesion Militar," Politica y Estrategia [Santiago], No. 51, July-September 1989, 67-74.

The article is an analysis by Chilean navy Captain Guitierrez Valdebenito of the concepts of professionalism and professionalization of the armed forces. The author

argues that the professional nature of any military institution is founded upon obedience and internal authoritarianism. Therefore, even in democratic societies, military institutions must remain internally authoritarian to fulfill their defensive roles. Past experiments in internal democratization of the German and United States militaries have weakened the discipline and capabilities of those armed institutions. The author concludes that recent proposals by the Chilean academic community relating to internal democratization of the armed forces as a means of harmonizing civil-military relations will ultimately lead to a weakening and demoralization of the military. The result of such an experiment in Chile would be a unilateral demilitarization that would leave the country in a precarious defensive posture against external and internal threats.

Keyword(s): Chile; civil-military relations

Hernandez, Pablo. Conversaciones Con El Teniente Coronel Aldo Rico: De Malvinas a la Operacion Dignidad. Buenos Aires: Editorial Fortaleza, 1989..

This volume contains a series of interviews with the leader of the Argentine military rebellions of April 1987 and January 1988, which were undertaken by members of the military faction known as the Parallel Army or Carapintadas. The interviewee discusses the events surrounding the rebellions, as well as political and social conditions in Argentina. The interviews address issues such as the causes and effects of the anti-subversive warfare of the 1970s, the Malvinas War, new concepts of military obedience, and Gramscian processes of cultural transmission and modification within Argentine society.

Keyword(s): Argentina; civil-military relations

Huser, Herbert Chandler. "Civil-Military Relations in Argentina: The Alfonsin Years." (Ph.D. dissertation, George Washington University, 1991.) Washington: Dissertation Abstracts International, AAC9125047.

Huser examines the civil-military relationship during the Alfonsín administration, seeking to explain that relationship in terms of the political culture of Argentina. He analyzes the military state and the web of rights and prerogatives of the Argentine military establishment. The Alfonsín administration challenged this military state through two political processes: military reform (reforma militar), and review of the past (revisión del pasado).

The author analyzes the effects of the competition over legitimate authority during these two processes under four military state categories: mission and organization, resources and industry, education and socialization, and accountability and discipline. Qualitative analysis is performed using interviews, documents, public opinion polls, scholarly observations and accounts, and reasoned inference.

Huser concludes that neither of the two processes directed at changing the civil-military relationship to one in which civilian authority defines the military state accomplished that objective. The civil-military relationship continued to be conflictive and adversarial, reflecting competing claims to legitimacy based on different currents of Argentine political culture. The contest over authority and military loyalty reached the point of open rebellion by portions of the military, especially the army, on three separate occasions. The military was not depoliticized and the military question was not resolved.

Keyword(s): Argentina; civil-military relations

Iturriaga M., Jorge. "Discurso Con Motivo de la Inauguración de la FIDAE '92," Fuerzas Armadas y Sociedad [Santiago], 7, No. 1, January-March 1992, 39-41.

The article reproduces a discourse by General Jorge Iturriaga of the Chilean Air Force, delivered upon the occasion of the opening of the twelfth annual Air and Space Fair (Feria del Aire y del Espacio--FIDAE). The author expresses the strong commitment of the Chilean authorities to convert Chile into an active member of the

elite group of nations that engage in the peaceful uses of space. Chile intends to foster an ample national consciousness of the challenge of space that will motivate the young and the professional sectors of society to apply their skills in support of a national aerospace program.

Keyword(s): Chile; armed forces' missions and strategy

Izurieta, Oscar. "Las Reformas Militares en Espana: Comentario del Teniente Coronel Oscar Izurieta," Fuerzas Armadas y Sociedad [Santiago], 5, No. 4, October-December 1990, 5-6.

The article is a commentary on the relevance of Spanish military reforms for the Chilean armed forces. The author states that there is no generalized sentiment among the Chilean armed forces for a profound structural reform of the Chilean military. Although as dynamic institutions the military must continually modernize, there is no need for a profound reform. The author contrasts the missions of the Spanish military with those of the Chilean armed forces. Whereas the former's missions are largely defined by its integration into the NATO defense structure, Chilean military doctrine is based on unilateral defense against territorial encroachment by neighboring states. This mission has been a constant in Chilean defense policy. Moreover, the constitutional framework of armed forces activity in Chile is fully adequate for ensuring professionalism and discipline among the ranks and for meeting the challenges to Chilean national security.

Keyword(s): Chile; armed forces' missions and strategy

Jasen, Raul. Seineldin: El Ejercito Traicionado, La Patria Vencida. Buenos Aires: Editorial Verum et Militia, 1989..

This volume contains a polemical discussion of the activities of Colonel Mohammed Ali Seneildin, the leader of the Argentine military uprising of December 1988 and a co-founder of the Parallel Army or carapintada movement in Argentina. The author addresses Colonel Seneildin's participation in the rebellions, as well as other social



and political issues as interpreted from the perspective of the carapintadas.

Keyword(s): Argentina; civil-military relations

Jaunarena, J. Horacio. "Discurso del Ministro de Defensa." Pages 7-22 in Seminario Internacional de Defensa. Buenos Aires: Fundacion Sergio Karakachof, 1989.

This is a discourse delivered by the Argentine Minister of Defense at the opening of the Seminar on National Defense of the Foundation for the Study of National Issues (Futena), held in Buenos Aires. It outlines the Alfonsin administration's defense policy and its program of military reform.

Jaunarena establishes five objectives for Argentine defense strategy: (1) safeguard national sovereignty and territorial integrity; (2) maintain an independent position in the East-West conflict; (3) continue by diplomatic means to press Argentine claims to the Falklands, South Georgias, and South Sandwich Islands while defending Argentine jurisdictional rights over the southern territorial sea and reaffirming Argentine aspirations in Antarctica; (4) prevent and neutralize external aggression resulting from direct or indirect action by states or agents of international terrorism; (5) complete the integration of the armed forces within a democratic institutional framework through military reform. Among the military reforms outlined are: professionalization that emphasizes operational over administrative roles; reorientation of military missions toward external defense; modernization of some equipment; expanded access of military personnel to the civilian educational system.

Keyword(s): Argentina; armed forces' missions and strategy

Kleiner, Alberto. Documentos Sobre la Politica Militar del Dr. Alfonsin: Reestructuracion de las Fuerzas Armadas. Buenos Aires: (publisher not identified), 1989.

This volume compiles a series of official documents and correspondence relating to the military reforms implemented by the Alfonsín administration from 1983 to 1989. The volume is configured as a reference source and contains no narrative analysis.

Keyword(s): Argentina; civil-military relations

Lane, Arturo. Lucha Ideologica en Torno a la Seguridad Nacional. Santiago: Centro de Estudios de la Nacionalidad, 1989.

The author contends that the internal security of a democratic regime should serve to guarantee individual rights and the social and economic development of the population. Such objectives can be met only if the society maintains public institutions devoted to securing internal order as well as external defense. Doctrines of national security should be unique to individual states, depending on objective factors such as geography, natural and human resources, national history, and ethical and cultural values, and cannot be imposed from abroad. By tailoring national security doctrines to conditions in each society, the state safeguards the framework for orderly functioning of the political system. The author concludes that to preserve a democratic political system Chile's doctrine of national security must continue to provide ethical and ideological alternatives to totalitarianism.

Keyword(s): Chile; armed forces' missions and strategy

Lopez, Ernesto. "Argentina: Desarme de Hecho y Cooperacion Para la Paz," Fuerzas Armadas y Sociedad [Santiago], 7, No. 1, January-March 1992, 17-26.

In the context of state shrinking and structural adjustment, the Argentine armed forces have undergone substantial budget reductions under civilian democratic rule. Among the most dramatic change in the military structure has been the demilitarization and privatization of the Argentine military-industrial complex. Sharp decreases in military spending have led to a de facto unilateral disarmament by Argentina. The reduced size of

the Argentine military has coincided with and complemented the shift in Argentine foreign policy toward regional economic integration, repudiation of weapons of mass destruction, and participation in multilateral peacekeeping efforts. Within this new framework of Argentine foreign policy, the eventual modernization of the military will depart from traditional confrontational strategies and will instead reinforce Argentina's role as a stabilizing and democratizing force in Latin America.

Keyword(s): Argentina; armed forces' missions and strategy

Loveman, Brian. "Mision Cumplida? Civil-Military Relations and the Chilean Political Transition," Journal of Inter-American Studies and World Affairs, 33, Fall 1991, 35-74.

Loveman examines Chilean civil-military relations in the first year of the Aylwin-Concertacion administration. He analyzes the military's political role as sanctioned by the 1980 constitution and the implications for democracy of the concepts of national security and "protected democracy" as formulated within that constitution and in subsequent organic laws relating to terrorism, internal state security, and military justice.

The article analyzes the Aylwin administration's program of democratization through constitutional reform, evaluating both the government's strategy and the military's response. The long-term goals of the Aylwin government include extensive constitutional and legislative reform of the role of the armed forces, which requires redefining their constitutional role, modifying the National Security Council, and restoring traditional civilian authority over the armed forces, including congressional budgetary and investigatory authority relating to the military.

The political right and the armed forces have been largely successful in their efforts to delay, impede, and veto the government's long-term program. In its first year, the government pursued more modest, intermediate objectives, such as ordering the investigation of human rights abuses during the military government, pressuring for the release

of remaining political prisoners, and increasing the number of civilians in the security council. However, the government did not attempt a direct attack on the role of the armed forces, as defined by the constitution, nor on its authority, as spelled out in the organic laws.

Keyword(s): Chile; civil-military relations

Marcella, Gabriel. "The Latin American Military, Low Intensity Conflict, and Democracy," Journal of Inter-American Studies and World Affairs, 32, No. 1, Spring 1990, 45-82.

As redemocratization proceeds in Latin America, the armed forces will have a decisive role to play in nurturing the institutional bases on which it rests. It is the thesis of this article that democratization is compatible with professionally strong military establishments. Such compatibility is also consonant with United States strategic requirements. However, the military faces troubling dilemmas in promoting democracy. Moreover, civilian leaders have yet to develop an effective approach to integrate participation of military professionals into national decision making.

In Peru, although the defense establishment was reorganized and various changes of cabinet ministers made, both the government and the military have been criticized for their inability to contain, much less eliminate, the guerrillas. Peru's traditional defense strategy has been devised to meet the possibility of conventional border conflict with Chile and Ecuador, not counterinsurgency, hence its shift in focus has been inadequate at best.

In Chile, the ways in which the balance of power will be distributed between civil government and the military and whether (and if so, how) the military will be subordinated to civilian authority remain to be worked out. A process of civil-military rapprochement is underway, assisted by an increasingly sophisticated dialogue on defense policy and the respective roles of civilians and the military.

In Argentina, as the armed forces undergo reorganization, the military budget has been cut severely. Argentina is attempting to establish a modern military organization

capable of joint operations, a major deficiency in the 1982 Malvinas War. Passage of the April 1988 Defense Law redefined the military's role in national security as responsibility for defense against external aggression, eliminating its mission of internal security and intelligence gathering for internal political matters.

Keyword(s): Latin America; civil-military relations

Marcella, Gabriel. "Latin American Military Participation in the Democratic Process, ." Pages 263-83 in Security in the Americas. Ed., Georges Fauriol, Washington: National Defense University Press, 1989.

As redemocratization proceeds in Latin America, the armed forces will have a decisive role in allowing it to happen, and then nurturing the institutional bases to strengthen it. The author argues that efforts at democratization are compatible with professionally strong military establishments. Such a compatibility also accords with United States strategic interests. In this context, professionally capable, self-confident, and politically responsible military institutions provide a better security shield for the survival of democracy than do poorly organized, insecure, and often corrupt institutions distanced from the larger civilian society. It is increasingly obvious that democracy has been rediscovered by the armed forces of Latin America. The conviction stems from internal institutional developments and from the military's assessment of the best way for the various nations to be politically organized in order to confront the challenges of the present and the future. Nevertheless, the military face some troubling dilemmas in promoting democracy. In the area of civil-military relations, there is an enormous communications gap between the civilian and military world. It is particularly acute with respect to national security, where few civilians engage in a pragmatic institutionalized dialogue with military counterparts. The author concludes that the civil-military communications gap can be bridged only if cultural distance and institutional resentments are overcome through intelligence sharing and joint civilian-military education in national security issues.

Keyword(s): Latin America; civil-military relations

Marras, Sergio. Palabra de Soldado. Santiago: Editorial Ornitorrinco.

The book is a collection of unedited interviews by Chilean journalist Sergio Marra of four generals of the Chilean army who held high-level posts in the military regime of General Augusto Pinochet. The author interviews General Ernesto Baeza Michaelson, General Alejandro Melina Lois, General Horacio Toro Iturra, and General Luis Danus Covian. The topics discussed include the sixteen years of military government, the history of civil-military relations, and the possibilities for rapprochement between the military and civilian sectors of Chilean society. The interviewees recommend strategies for national reconciliation, consolidation of democracy, and the convergence of military and civilian thought.

Keyword(s): Chile; civil-military relations

Martinez Busch, Jorge. "La Gran Tarea de Esta Generacion es la Ocupacion Efectiva de Nuestro Mar," Fuerzas Armadas y Sociedad [Santiago], 5, No. 3, July-September 1990, 32-41.

The article reproduces a lecture by the commander in chief of the Chilean navy, Admiral Jorge Martinez Busch, delivered before the Naval War College at Vina del Mar on 4 May 1990. The author calls for the elaboration of a new "oceanopolitics" for the southern hemisphere in which Chile will reinforce its presence and diversify its activities in its territorial waters and maritime zone of influence. One of the new missions envisioned for the Chilean navy would be defense of the southern Pacific ecosystem and biomass from overharvesting and contamination, both in the exclusive economic zone and in the zone of maritime influence. Naval power should also be used to guarantee national security through the interception of vessels carrying contraband, narcotics, weaponry and hostile forces. The navy should also be equipped to impede hostile maritime surveillance, electronic warfare, and any type of transmissions that may

compromise national security. Finally, the navy should be equipped to perform search and rescue operations, and defend maritime communication and transportation routes and the nation's port network. Additionally, efforts should be made through the United Nations to establish protected areas of restricted or prohibited harvesting in zones of high biological and minerological interest and diversity.

Keyword(s): Chile; armed forces' missions and strategy

Martinez Busch, Jorge. "Vision Estrategica de la Armada Ante el Nuevo Contexto Regional y Mundial: Discurso del Almirante Jorge Martinez Busch," Fuerzas Armadas y Sociedad [Santiago], 6, No. 3, July-September 1991, 75.

The article reproduces a speech by the commander in chief of the Chilean navy, Admiral Jorge Martinez Busch, delivered before the Chilean Council on International Relations on September 24, 1991. The author expresses skepticism concerning the depth of global political change, arguing that the substantive nature of global political transformations in certain countries has yet to be verified. In this uncertain context, Chile should not neglect the defense of its maritime frontier from foreign economic forces. Given Chile's geographic position, it will inevitably face foreign threats to its maritime resources. Consequently, Chile must reinforce its presence in its zone of maritime influence.

Keyword(s): Chile; armed forces' missions and strategy

Martorell, Francisco. "Acuartelamiento: El Dia del Ejercicio" Analisis [Santiago], December 24-30, 1990., 4-7.

The article analyzes the events surrounding the surprise confinement to quarters of the Chilean army that was ordered by army commander Augusto Pinochet on December 20, 1990. The article describes the sequence of events leading up to and following the army exercise, arguing that it was a political maneuver by General Pinochet intended to intimidate the civilian political authorities and derail

investigations of human rights violations and corruption by the previous military government. The author argues that General Pinochet sought to pressure the civilian government into withholding publication of the results of investigations into human rights violations under the military regime. Pinochet is said to have also aimed at exerting pressure to discontinue the investigation into the army corruption scandal popularly known as la cutufa. The author notes that, whereas Pinochet may have temporarily prolonged his tenure as army commander in chief, his maneuver was resoundingly rejected by the civilian population and was not supported by the navy or air force.

Keyword(s): Chile; civil-military relations

Martorell, Francisco. "Mes del Ejercito: Conflictos "Ad Portas", " Analisis [Santiago], September 2-15, 1991, 5-7.

This article analyzes the state of civil-military relations in Chile, arguing that the confrontation that characterized that relationship during the first year of civilian government has subsided and been replaced by a more quiescent period of "war of maneuver" between army commander Pinochet and the civilian authorities. Realizing that Pinochet cannot be easily removed from his command, the civilian authorities have opted to divert their attention from the army commander and refocus on long-term issues such as armed forces modernization and procurement. New opportunities for civilian-military confidence building have been provided by a program of joint civilian-military education in national security issues. Nevertheless, personality conflicts between the military hierarchy and the Minister of Defense, as well as investigations of military terrorism and corruption, continue to impede full-scale civil-military cooperation.

Keyword(s): Chile; civil-military relations

Martorell, Francisco. "Relacion Civico-Militar: Piedrecitas en el Camino", " Analisis [Santiago], July 22-28, 1991, 5-7.



This article analyzes civil-military relations in Chile, arguing that the army and the political right have obstructed efforts by civilian leaders to reformulate national security strategy and modernize the armed forces. As a result, modernizing efforts such as those carried out in Argentina by the Alfonsin government have been hampered in Chile. The army has resisted basic modernizing steps such as the centralization of military command authority within a Joint Chiefs of Staff organization responsible to the president as commander in chief. The army has also resisted civilian efforts to expand executive and legislative control over military budgets. The situation is thus one of gradual easing of tensions amidst continued segregation and mutual suspicion among civilian and military policymakers.

Keyword(s): Chile; civil-military relations

Masterson, Daniel M.. "The Unfulfilled Mission: The Velasco Revolution and its Legacy." Pages 243-98 in Militarism and Politics in Latin America. Ed., Daniel M. Masterson. New York: Greenwood Press, 1991.

The author contends that Peru, now more than ever, needs a stable and progressive armed forces' establishment to defeat the Sendero Luminoso insurgency and help rebuild the nation's shattered infrastructure once the war is over. The military has a reasonable chance of defeating the insurgency because of their renewed emphasis on a counterinsurgency strategy which lacks the abusive features which marked the first decade of the military's anti-guerilla campaigns. The Fujimori government, during its first six months in office, has demonstrated a willingness to work more closely with the military in combatting Shining Path (Sendero Luminoso) and the Tupac Amaru Revolutionary Movement (Movimiento Revolucionario Tupac Amaru--MRTA) than the previous administration. It is unmistakably clear, however, that the war can be waged only in the context of a more comprehensive effort to resolve the social ills that have fueled Sendero Luminoso's rebellion for the past two decades. The armed forces will continue to have both a military and a social role to play if the Peruvian government and its leaders again recognize and implement these dual missions.

Keyword(s): Peru; armed forces' missions and strategy

Mattos, Francisco. "Economia de Guerra Para el Ejercito?,"  
Debate [Lima], 11, No. 57, September-October 1989, 34-35.

The author analyzes the budgetary problems faced by the Peruvian military in its war against subversion. Low levels of spending on the armed forces have led to cutoffs in electrical service at several army bases, inadequate salaries for military personnel, and deterioration of aging equipment and facilities. The author argues that the penury of the military institutions leaves them at a disadvantage in their campaign against the Sendero Luminoso and Tupac Amaru insurgencies. Unless greater resources are committed to salaries, training and equipment, the effectiveness of the counterinsurgency campaign will continue to erode.

Keyword(s): Peru; armed forces' missions and strategy

Mauceri, Phillip. "Military Politics and Counter-Insurgency in Peru," Journal of Inter-American Studies and World Affairs, 33, No. 4, Winter 1991, 83-109.

This article argues that the vital monopoly on decision-making exercised by the Peruvian military in the area of counterinsurgency has not meant, however, that a consistent and national counterinsurgency strategy has been instituted. Rather, the conflicts and contradictions within the military have been reflected in its approach towards insurgents. Those conflicts go back to the early 1970s and the question of the military's role in proposing structural changes for the country. Deep divisions exist over the meaning of Sendero Luminoso and the role of the military in the political system. These differences can be seen in the diverse approaches adopted by the armed forces to combat insurgency over the last decade. These differing policies have produced significant tensions both within the military institution itself and between the military and civilian authorities over the consequences of counterinsurgency.

Keyword(s): Peru; armed forces' missions and strategy

McClintock, Cynthia. "The Prospects for Democratic Consolidation in a "Least Likely" Case: Peru," Comparative Politics, 21, No. 1, January 1989, 127-48.

The author contends that, despite its profile as a "least likely case," there is a fair chance for democratic consolidation in Peru. Under certain circumstances a guerrilla movement can unite key political actors behind democracy as the only alternative to civil war. In contrast to the more promising democracies of Latin America, where military elites are portrayed as gradually developing democratic values, in the Peruvian case, officers seem to have made a strategic decision that democracy is the only political system that will enable Peru to avoid wholesale civil war in the near future. Peruvian military officers have not developed a normative commitment to democracy as an ideal political system. Rather, officers have strategically calculated the costs and benefits of democratic versus military rule and concluded that democracy is their only alternative, at least in the near future. Today, Peruvian military officers consider popular support important for a military victory. Accordingly, they prefer to eschew a wholesale repression that might stop the domestic insurgency in the short run but leave Peru vulnerable to external attack. Specifically, military elites fear that a coup would provoke civil war. Peru's guerrilla movement has modified the strategic alternatives available to elites. The coup option is much more dangerous, and, accordingly, the democratic leadership in Peru has to date suffered less serious challenges from the military than in other redemocratizing South American nations.

Keyword(s): Peru; civil-military relations

McCormick, Gordon H.. "Politics, Economics, Civil-Military Relations." Pages 38-44 in The Shining Path and the Future of Peru. Santa Monica: Rand Corporation, March 1990.

In an integrated regime, in which the army serves the cause of government and is pledged to support a designated political system, the resort to force would be subordinated to and managed by the established political structure. This is not likely to be the case in Peru, which has been governed by twenty-five military governments since 1810, and where the armed forces have long striven to maintain a separate and distinct identity from civilian rule. Today, as in the past, the military ultimately considers itself to be the defender of the state rather than the handmaiden of any particular regime. Escalating popular unrest, in this respect, is not likely to be viewed as a simple breakdown in law and order but the result of a more serious loss of regime legitimacy. The government under these circumstances will have lost its mandate to govern. The military is deterred from assuming direct rule by the state of the Peruvian economy. If the military were to assume the responsibility of government it would also have to assume responsibility for pulling the country out of its present financial and economic crisis. The army has no clue as to how this might be accomplished, nor do they want to be blamed for the country's current difficulties or the stringent and thus unpopular measures that will be required to restore the economy to a rough state of equilibrium.

Keyword(s): Peru; civil-military relations

Medina Lois, Alejandro. "Seguridad Nacional y la Vision Ideologica de la Defensa Nacional," Politica y Geoestrategia [Santiago], No. 49, January-March 1989, 11-29.

The article by a major general of the Chilean army intends to develop a concept of national security for the posttransition period. The author maintains that the dual mission of the Chilean armed forces to defend against external invasion and internal subversion of the institutional order will remain essentially unchanged. Civil-military relations and the fundamental missions of the armed forces are considered constitutional issues not subject to "political" manipulation by the executive or legislature. Furthermore, the author maintains that recent academic efforts to devise new models of civil-military

relations are essentially a product of leftist efforts to undermine the unity and strength of the armed forces. Patterns of civil-military relations are considered to be specific to individual states and not transferable across national boundaries. Consequently, the author concludes that civil-military relations in Chile will in the future follow an independent course reflecting the nation's recent historical experience rather than the policies of neighboring states.

Keyword(s): Chile; civil-military relations; armed forces' missions and strategy

Menesses Ciuffardi, Emilio. "Politica y Organizacion," Fuerzas Armadas y Sociedad [Santiago], 6, No., July-September 1991, 49-52.

Chilean civilian governments have consistently failed to elaborate global strategic objectives that are required to develop coherent defense policies. Civilian defense policies thus far have failed to harmonize civil-military relations. Furthermore there is an absence in Chile of a stable, independent central organization that can execute, coordinate, and delegate missions and direct and administer resources rationally and efficiently. The political, conceptual, legal, and organizational foundations on which to build a defense policy have yet to be established in Chile.

Keyword(s): Chile; civil-military relations

Menesses, Emilio. "Reflexiones Sobre Politica de Defensa," Fuerzas Armadas y Sociedad [Santiago], 6, No. 2, April-June 1991, 26-29.

Chile has historically lacked a defense policy in the sense that this implies a set of general proposals administered by a central bureaucracy and translated into reference documents, operational objectives, and a set of coordinated actions for the fulfillment of those objectives in a given time frame. Chilean defense policy has suffered from a lack of separation of structural and

administrative decision making, making it difficult to distinguish between political and military realms of competence. Chile has also suffered from a near total absence of coordination between the ministries of defense and foreign relations, reflecting a segregation of traditional civilian and military policy roles. Modernization of the national security-related bureaucracies requires centralization of decision making in a civilian Ministry of Defense and a Military General Staff, as well as greater coordination and consultation between these organizations and the legislative branch and the Ministry of Foreign Relations. In a democracy, the formulation of budgetary and strategic policies in the area of national defense are tasks that are essentially political in nature.

Keyword(s): Chile; civil-military relations

Merino Castro, Jose T. "La Region Asia-Pacifico en la Era de la Perestroika," Revista de Marina [Valparaiso], 107, No. 794, January-February 1990, 8-18.

The author analyzes Soviet military-strategic intentions in the Pacific Rim in the period of perestroika. The basic thesis of the article is that, despite trends toward improved international relations between the superpowers, the Soviet Union continues to possess both the capability and the intention of challenging United States military and economic power in the Pacific Rim. The author interprets the Soviets' continuing buildup of naval forces in the region, its public calls for United States withdrawal from its Philippine bases, and its promotion of nuclear-free-zones in the Pacific as elements of a concerted strategy to undermine the United States presence in the Pacific Rim. Soviet intentions are most clearly evidenced, the author believes, by the continuing buildup of Soviet military forces and merchant marine fleets in the Pacific. The author recommends continued vigilance against the Soviet threat by all Western alliance nations of the Pacific, including Chile.

Keyword(s): Chile; armed forces' missions and strategy

Meza Larenas, Rene. "Hacia un Reordenamiento del Mapa Geopolitico de Sudamerica?," Memorial del Ejercito de Chile [Santiago], 83, No. 433, 1989, 160-170.

The article by major of the Chilean army, Meza Larenas, intends to discern new patterns of interstate relations in South America from a geopolitical perspective. The long-term trends detected by the author include: a diminution in scale of armed conflicts and border incidents between regional states; a greater probability of conflict with extraregional rather than with regional states concerning issues such as the 200-mile exclusive economic zone, Antarctica, the Malvinas, and foreign debt; a widening of the gap between the military capabilities of South American states and those of the advanced industrial powers resulting from accelerated technological innovations in weaponry among the latter; a preoccupation with internal development over external territorial expansion in the geopolitical projects of regional states; prioritization of economic over security-related problems; intensified efforts towards regional economic integration; creation of subregional blocs on specific issues; and regular demonstrations of Latin American solidarity in disputes with extraregional states.

Keyword(s): Chile; armed forces' missions and strategy

Molina Johnson, Carlos. Chile: Los Militares y la Politica. Santiago: Editorial Andres Bello, 1989.

The author provides a historical analysis of Chilean armed forces' participation in national politics from the birth of the republic to the end of the Pinochet government. The basic thesis is that the military has served as a repository of national values during critical moments of national crisis, preserving the republic from collapse when it has been threatened by internal and external enemies. The political guardian role of the Chilean armed forces is thus seen as a fundamental component of Chilean political culture. The final chapter contains a general forecast of future military involvement in politics, arguing that military participation in national-level policymaking has become institutionalized by the National Security Council. The author contends that the council will be an important factor in future civil-military

relations and a critical advisory organization for safeguarding national security. The armed forces are also expected to play prominent roles in future development-related activities throughout the country.

Keyword(s): Chile; civil-military relations

Molina Johnson, Carlos. "Chile: Los Militares y la Politica," Memorial del Ejercito de Chile [Santiago], 83, No. 432, 1989, 80-90.

The article by a lieutenant colonel of the Chilean army provides a historical account of military participation in Chilean politics, portraying the armed forces' current political role under the 1980 constitution as a positive development in civil-military relations. The author contends that the armed forces' proper role in Chilean society includes defense against internal threats to the institutional order, as well as defense against foreign aggression. The military's political guardian functions are carried out under the authority of the National Security Council, which, according to the constitution, is authorized to intervene politically if its members perceive a serious threat to the institutional order. The author concludes that any efforts at constitutional reform aimed at eliminating the National Security Council or reducing its power would be detrimental to democracy.

Keyword(s): Chile; civil-military relations

Molina Johnson, Carlos. "La Constitucion Politica, la Obedencia, y la No Deliberancia Militar," Memorial del Ejercito de Chile [Santiago], 84, No. 434, 1990, 20-31.

The author, a colonel in the Chilean army, intends to analyze the missions of the Chilean armed forces and internal security forces as defined by the constitution of 1980. The author argues that the constitution of 1980 establishes a new model of the state in which the armed forces are protagonists in defense of the institutional order, rather than mere spectators. Molina Johnson contends that the constitution of 1980 maintains the armed



forces' traditional character as nondeliberative and obedient organizations, yet recognizes their duty to take automatic steps in defense of the institutional order against internal or external threats. The author thus portrays the armed forces as a type of repository of national values, empowered in crisis situations to act independently of the authority of any particular government in defense of the constitution and institutional order. The military's duty to safeguard national security under normal conditions is carried out by the National Security Council, an organization that embodies the state's capacity for self-preservation.

Keyword(s): Chile; civil-military relations; armed forces' missions and strategy

Mosciatti, Nibaldo F.. "Las Filtraciones del Ejercito: El Aullido del Coyote," Apsi [Santiago], 15, No. 349, 9-22 May 1990, 12-15.

The article discusses the reaction of the Chilean army to the Aylwin government's announcement of the creation of a nonpartisan commission to investigate human rights abuses during the military regime. The author argues that the army, which is more directly implicated in systematic killings and disappearances than the other military branches, has been the most vocal opponent of such investigations. The author further implies that the army has resorted to extralegal means, such as electronic surveillance of public officials and public political deliberation, to derail the orderly functioning of the civilian government. The author argues that the human rights issue has polarized national politics in the months following the transition to civilian rule, noting that the moderate right has joined the far right in attacking the government's handling of the human rights issue.

Keyword(s): Chile; civil-military relations

Moser, Daniel N. "Fuerzas Armadas en America Latina: Dos Corrientes Politicas Historicas," El Dia [Mexico City], May 25, 1992, .

The article by an Argentine analyst argues that Latin American militarism has historically assumed two basic forms. One type of militarism has emphasized the military's role as agent of revolutionary social change through populist and corporatist redistributive policies. The reformist militaries have tended to be highly nationalistic and critical of United States policies. Populist militarism occurred in Argentina under General Juan Peron, in Panama under General Torrijos, and in Peru under General Velasco Alvarado. A second strain of Latin American militarism has promoted neoconservatism and the doctrine of national security. The governments of General Pinochet in Chile and General Videla in Argentina conformed to this model of neoconservative militarism. The author contends that recent uprisings among junior officers in Argentina and Venezuela indicate a resurgence of populist militarism in Latin America. The uprisings by Colonel Chavez in Venezuela and the carapintadas in Argentina contained strong populist overtones, including derision of corruption among the political class, and opposition to liberal economic structural adjustment. The author notes that currents of populist militarism have recently appeared as well in Bolivia, Brazil and Honduras, suggesting a regional trend. In some instances populist junior officers have attempted to fill the ideological gap in politics lacking center-left political parties. Their emergence indicates continued failure to integrate the armed forces into Latin American society.

Keyword(s): Latin America; civil-military relations

Navarro M., Miguel. "Hacia una Politica de Defensa," Fuerzas Armadas y Sociedad [Santiago], 5, No. 4, October-December 1990, 10-11.

During the present century, Chile has lacked a defense policy in the sense that this implies sustained efforts by the political authorities to formulate national security objectives and provide resources to attain them. Moreover, during the period of military government and in its immediate aftermath, the role and authority of the Ministry of Defense have been seriously undermined. What is needed today is a radical transformation of civilian attitudes toward military policy. Evidence of such a

transformation can be found in the Aylwin/Concertacion government's policies with respect to reform of civil-military relations. National defense priorities must now be established in light of the virtual demise of the Inter-American Treaty of Reciprocal Assistance. From a statist perspective, the definition and execution of a defense policy will facilitate the recomposition of the legally sanctioned hierarchy of national defense, permitting the Ministry of Defense to assume its proper role as the directive force and coordinator of the military apparatus, in accordance with the principles of shared responsibility and collaboration with the armed forces. Concurrently, this would also help spur the legislature to assume its proper role in defense matters. An adequate defense strategy is the only means to end decades of civil-military discord and misunderstanding.

Keyword(s): Chile; civil-military relations; armed forces' missions and strategy

Navarro M., Miguel. "Una Pausa Necesaria," Fuerzas Armadas y Sociedad [Santiago], 6, No. 2, April-June 1991, 30-32.

Chile is currently undergoing a multifaceted process of revision of its civil-military relations. The transition to democracy and the demise of the Inter-American Defense system associated with the Cold War have stimulated a newfound interest among civilians in national security issues. The formulation of a new civil-military relationship is taking place primarily in the academic realm and is evidenced by the appearance of joint civilian and military academic programs in national security studies. Such efforts have created a new climate of open discourse and mutual confidence building among the political and military sectors of society.

Keyword(s): Chile; civil-military relations

Norden, Deborah, L.. "Democratic Consolidation and Military Professionalism: Argentina in the 1980's," Journal of Inter-American Studies and World Affairs, 32, Fall 1990, 151-176.

Norden examines Argentine civil-military relations during the Alfonsin administration and the first months of the Menem administration. She analyzes three factors relevant to the military's position during the Alfonsin government: (1) the balance of power between the military and the government at the time of the 1983 transition; (2) the military policies of the Alfonsin administration; and (3) the evolution of political thought and action within the military during this time.

Although Alfonsin succeeded both in reducing the range of military prerogatives and in furthering certain areas of self-criticism within the military, on balance, the success of the transition was more the result of independent developments within the armed forces than of the astuteness of the government's military policy. The Alfonsin government's pursuit of demilitarization, rather than reprofessionalization, provoked the military into repoliticizing itself by (a) alienating the institution from the political system and (b) placing a political party--the Union Civica Radical--in direct opposition to the armed forces.

President Menem's initial conciliatory measures temporarily eased government-military tension, but at the cost of rewarding insubordination by junior officers. The author concludes that although the military appear to be politically subordinate at present, it has not been effectively integrated into the state as an institution.

Keyword(s): Argentina; civil-military relations

Nunn, Frederick M.. The Time of the Generals. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1992.

The eight chapters that make up the body of this book deal with the principal ingredients of professional militarism and the way they evolved during 1964-89 in Argentina, Brazil, Chile, and Peru. By interpreting and comparing the military profession's own literature, the author intends to demonstrate that professional militarism can exist in a latent as well as a manifest state almost anywhere. The first two chapters deal with officers' perspectives on the past and present from their vantage point of a

disconcerting "new world paradigm," the postwar era. Chapters 3 and 4 address the perceived and practical roles of officers and armies and show how officer-authors struggled to adapt old ways to new situations. Chapters 5 and 6 deal with officer-corps thought on politics, ideology, religious faith, wisdom, and nationalism. By discussing the arguments used by officers to get their readers to react to the world around them, these chapters intend to show how a blending of thought and self-perception can lead to professional militarism, both manifest and latent. The chapters are also intended to help the reader understand the gap between present and past by revealing the mutual influence of traditional self-perception and thought on current events in Latin America and elsewhere. Chapter 7 focuses more intensely on what those who held power in Argentina, Brazil, Chile, and Peru between 1964 and 1989 would identify as national priorities of a cultural, economic, political, and social nature. The final chapter includes a discussion of professional militarism's place in the unfolding of recent history and elaborates further on why it was manifest in some countries and only remained latent in others. It speculates on newer themes and significant alterations of traditional ones. Its orientation is present-future in contrast to that of the first seven chapters. It speaks to "times of change," as opposed to "changing times," and to recent events that might presage another "new world paradigm" for men in uniform.

Keyword(s): Latin America; civil-military relations; armed forces' missions and strategy

Osses, Emilio J.. "Fuerzas Armadas: Para Que?," Fuerzas Armadas y Sociedad [Santiago], 6, No. 3, July-September 1991, 41-41.

The article by the chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff of the Argentine armed forces, Admiral Emilio Osses, briefly discusses the role of the Argentine military in the post-Cold War era. For the foreseeable future, the ability of states to resolve favorably fundamental conflicts of interest will depend on their capacity to deter aggression through military strength. The armed forces must be equipped to respond to new security-related

roles in the new international context. The fulfillment of new security roles by the armed forces will require commitment of additional resources for the military budget, which currently stands at a dangerously low level of 1 percent of gross domestic product.

Keyword(s): Argentina; armed forces' missions and strategy

Paul Latorre, Adolfo. "Efectos de los Cambios Estrategicos Globales en Estados Unidos y America Latina: Comentario del Capitan de Navio Sr. Adolfo Paul Latorre," Fuerzas Armadas y Sociedad [Santiago], 5, No.3, July-September 1990, 9-11.

The article is a commentary on the implications for Latin America of global strategic transformations. The author argues that the Inter-American system consisting of the Organization of American States in the political realm, the Latin American economic system in the economic realm, and the Inter-American Treaty of Reciprocal Assistance in the military realm has failed to forge common interests among Latin American states and is now obsolete. The end of bipolarity and the emergence of a global system consisting of five poles (United States, Soviet Union, Japan, European Community and China) will have long-term implications for Latin America. The nature of competition among these five powers will no longer be ideological, but will focus instead on the exploitation of Latin America's natural and human resources. This multiplicity of actors applying a variety of methods to increase their regional influence (e.g., through military aid, fishing agreements, preferential credits, development assistance) may generate imbalances among Latin American states that can lead to tensions. The degree of tension will depend on the extent to which Latin American states succeed in developing economic and political integration schemes. The article concludes by assessing the Soviet naval threat in 1990 and counseling caution in reaction to Soviet moves.

Keyword(s): Chile; armed forces' missions and strategy

Perelli, Carina. "Los Militares y la Gestion Publica." Sociedad de Analisis Politico--PEITHO, Montevideo, 1990.

Whereas civil-military relations in the advanced Western countries are characterized by military subordination and clientelist dependence upon civilian government, in the Rio de la Plata region, the military has historically represented a political force parallel to civilian political authority. Rather than behaving as one of many interest groups within society, the armed forces approach civilian political authority as partners or even as patrons. The armed forces in the Rio de la Plata region have not been integrated into society in the manner that advanced Western militaries have been. Instead, they are shunned by the majority of civilians and are excluded from exercising meaningful administrative roles by the liberal-democratic model of government. Segregation of the military reinforces mutual suspicions and antagonisms between the political and military classes, leading to public battles for the loyalty of the citizenry. The author examines the implications for public policy of such a conflictual pattern of civil-military relations.

Keyword(s): Argentina; civil-military relations

Pertusio, Roberto Luis. "Las Fuerzas Armadas en el Sistema Institucional," Armada Argentina: Revista de Publicaciones Navales [Buenos Aires], 42, No. 650, 1991, 7-13.

The article by a retired Argentine army colonel maintains that the proper civil-military relationship in a democratic society is one of subordination and obedience of the armed forces to civilian political authority represented by the president and the Minister of Defense. Moreover, the Argentine armed forces should discard the strategy of societal warfare without boundaries that prevailed under the doctrine of national security, adopting instead a doctrine of constructive deterrence in which military power serves as an instrument of national foreign policy. The proper mission of the armed forces is thus one of defense against external threats. The author concludes that a harmonious civil-military relationship is a fundamental condition for the successful pursuit of national objectives on the world stage.

Keyword(s): Argentina; civil-military relations

Pion-Berlin, David and Ernesto Lopez. "A House Divided: Crisis, Cleavage, and Conflict in the Argentine Army." Pages 63-96 in The New Argentine Democracy: The Search for a Successful Formula. Ed., Edward C. Epstein, Westport: Praeger, 1992..

This analysis suggests that the Argentine military rebellions, which began in April 1987 and recurred over the next three years, reflected sincere, deep-seated concerns about the moribund status of the military profession, as much as they mirrored the political-ideological agenda of its leaders. Although these uprisings had harmful consequences, they also served a constructive warning on military and political elites alike that unless professional repairs were rendered on this tattered institution, future cycles of resentment, defiance, and rebellion were likely. Many officers sided with the rebels because they supported their professional, not political, objectives. Perennial lines of political conflict, between Liberals and nationalists and Peronists and anti-Peronists, have been joined by fissures that separate officers according to their professional behavior and outlook. The military uprisings exposed and then reinforced these divisions. Underlying them are different perceptions about the role the armed forces ought to play in the new democracy. Soldiers differ in their views about relations with government, internal security, military training, territorial force deployment, and the formulation of hypotheses of conflict and war. These professional, ideological, and perceptual cleavages have cut between and across hierarchical lines of authority to segment the army into three main subgroupings: the Parallel Army or carapintadas, the Official Army or Liberals, and career soldiers or Pure Professionals. The first two groups have struggled against each other for domination within the Argentine army. The clashes of recent years have left the more politicized Official and Parallel Armies each in a weakened state. Their decline has opened a path for the Pure Professionals to mend, reunify, and reorganize the Argentine military profession. It has also improved the prospects for military subordination to civilian control. It remains to be seen



whether the new military and political leadership can cooperatively achieve these critical objectives.

Keyword(s): Argentina; civil-military relations

Portales C., Carlos. "Seguridad Compartida en America Latina: Desafio del Siglo XXI," Estudios Internacionales [Santiago], 23, No. 85, January-March 1989, 10-20.

The author analyzes several aspects of the emerging concept of shared security among Latin American states, placing special emphasis on South American efforts to establish a subregional defense system. With the declining relevance of the Treaty of Inter-American Reciprocal Assistance and the gradual phase-out of the doctrine of national security, Latin American policymakers are seeking new regional security mechanisms. The most likely strategy to be pursued will be to build incrementally subregional pacts based on expanding forms of cooperation and integration. Thus, Peru and Brazil have spearheaded the efforts to create "zones of peace" in the Pacific and Atlantic Oceans respectively. Such efforts imply joint patrolling of area waters and peaceful resolution of outstanding disputes. Other forms of cooperation include the signing of regional nonproliferation agreements on conventional and nonconventional weapons and the coordination and possible merger of national defense and aerospace industries. Shared security also implies coordination of national defense policies with regard to extraregional states.

Keyword(s): Latin America; armed forces' missions and strategy

Prieto Vial, Daniel. Defensa Chile 2000. Santiago: Editorial Andromeda/FLACSO, 1990.

The author develops a conceptual framework for Chilean defense policy until the year 2000. New military policies and security strategies are analyzed and recommended, including a broadening of the concept of security that contemplates cooperation with neighboring armed forces in

a South American collective security organization. Medium and long-term appropriations and training policies need to be reevaluated in light of new criteria for optimization of defense capabilities and current budgetary constraints. The defense capabilities of the armed forces can be optimized through a combination of downsizing, modernization of equipment, and enhanced training. New missions and operational capabilities must be developed to meet the challenges of the twenty-first century. Among the new missions contemplated are disaster relief, defense of the environment, research and development of high technology industries, and participation in a multinational South American defense force. Among the new operational capabilities to be attained would be enhanced capacity for combined-forces exercises and improved logistics for remote deployment. Coordination and cooperation with neighboring militaries are central components of the author's proposal. A key area of cooperation would be the development of a transnational South American aerospace industry and space travel capability. Finally, the author recommends that teams of civilian defense experts be created to act as interlocutors between the civilian and military sectors of the state in the implementation of new defense policies.

Keyword(s): Chile; armed forces' missions and strategy

Puvogel Hersch, Rainer J. "Compromiso Mundial: Salvar el Planeta Tierra," Revista de Marina [Valparaiso], 107, No. 795, March-April 1990, 140-47.

The article discusses environmental degradation in Chile and globally. With respect to the Chilean navy's role in combatting maritime pollution, the author argues that an active policy of enforcement of environmental norms on the high seas is impractical. Instead, the armed forces are urged to act as a medium for public education on environmental issues. The navy is also urged to serve as an example of "ecologism" by adapting its vessels to dispose of waste in an environmentally sound manner.

Keyword(s): Chile; armed forces' missions and strategy

Reyes Matta, Fernando. "Ser Militar, Si, Pero Cual es la Tarea?," Notas de Paz/Prensa [Santiago], June 1992, Comision Sudamericana de Paz, 1-3.

The author gives a brief report on the search for new missions among South American militaries. Three factors have contributed to an "existential crisis" of the armed forces: (1) the end of the Cold War rivalry among the superpowers has reduced regional geopolitical significance; (2) growing trends in regional cooperation have reduced the probability of conflict between neighboring Latin American states, despite the persistence of border disputes; and (3) democratic transitions have reduced the persuasiveness of internal warfare strategies.

Militaries are currently reviewing their missions, but are experiencing growing external pressures on budgets and role definitions. The Brazilian military's resistance to United States pressure for armed forces involvement in drug interdiction is an example of resistance to external pressure. Two arenas for military action are emerging: internal, where militaries resume roles in civilian governments experiencing crises (Peru, Venezuela, and potentially Brazil), and external, through participation in multinational military operations (Uruguay). There is an additional trend toward modernization of military infrastructure in support of professionalism (Chile and Argentina).

The writer concludes that South American militaries will continue to resist external pressures to define their missions.

Keyword(s): Latin America; armed forces' missions and strategy

Rial, Juan. "Las Fuerzas Armadas de America del Sur y su Relacion con el Estado en el Nuevo Contexto Democratico, en un Mundo en Cambio Constante," Revista de Estudios Politicos [Madrid], No. 74, October-December 1991, 55-84.

The writer examines the Latin American armed forces' search for new missions in a post-Cold War environment and discusses the current state of regional civil-military relations.

Section I, "The Armed Forces in a New Arena," outlines changes in the international and domestic contexts of armed forces activity and their implications for military role perceptions. Traditional ritualism compels the armed forces to maintain territorial defense as a first priority, despite the improbability of future territorial conflicts. In response to United States pressure, narcotrafficking has been designated a national security threat requiring countermeasures by regional militaries. Section II, "Existential Crisis or Role Revision of the Armed Forces," analyzes the survival strategies of military institutions being assailed on two fronts. Domestically, the military face civilian indifference or hostility in budgetary matters. Internationally, the armed forces are denied access to high technology equipment by "northern" powers desiring a regional disarmament. This combination of factors impedes the modernization that is necessary to maintain institutional professionalism. Efforts at political and military integration that build on the South American Common Market (Mercado Comun del Sur--Mercosur) framework are likely to be opposed by the United States. Section III, "Professional and Organizational Problems of the Military," argues that Latin American military service continues to be modeled on "heroic" rather than professional values. The author notes the absence of vocational development opportunities within the services. Section IV, "Civil-Military Relations," examines the lack of civilian expertise in military policy and the low levels of communication between the armed forces and civilian sectors of society. The writer concludes that regional military integration is a remote possibility.

Keyword(s): South America; armed forces' missions and strategy

Rial, Juan. "Las Fuerzas Armadas en los Anos Noventa: Misiones, Presupuesto, Personal. Notas para una Discusion," Revista Naval [Montevideo], 3, No. 6, March 1990, 17-23.

The author examines options for new missions, budgetary and personnel policies for the Uruguayan armed forces in the 1990s. The next civilian administration must define missions for the armed forces that respond to five

conditions: (1) absence of large-scale wars; (2) drastic change in the geopolitical equation with the collapse of the former East European bloc; (3) increasing social violence in Latin America; (4) economic instability of neighboring countries; and (5) high expectations for future government performance. The writer observes a lack of expertise and antipathy toward the armed forces among civilians. He recommends streamlining the officer corps and modernizing some air force and navy equipment.

The article concludes that the Uruguayan armed forces must expand opportunities for developing technical skills through modernization of equipment and organizations and must become more competitive in recruiting relative to the private sector.

Keyword(s): Uruguay; armed forces' missions and strategy

Rial, Juan. "The Armed Forces and Democracy: The Interests of Latin American Military Corporations in Sustaining Democratic Regimes." Pages 277-95 in The Military and Democracy: The Future of Civil-Military Relations in Latin America. Eds., Louis W. Goodman, Johanna S.R. Mendelson, and Juan Rial. Lexington: Lexington Books, 1990.

In Latin America the relationship between leading economic and/or political classes and the armed forces tends to be very difficult. The armed forces are segregated from civilian society and are autonomous from the state. In most Latin American states there is no integration between the armed forces and the state.

During the period of professionalization, the military's separation from society and the state was deepened. This situation made it possible in many cases to hide the political role of the armed forces, which was perceived as subsidiary. As the process of professionalization of the military forces progressed, civilian elites left the operational definition of armed forces' objectives in the hands of the military. In the long term, they also ceased formulating doctrines for using those forces. In other cases, they abdicated responsibility for providing ideology to guide military actions in critical circumstances.

In summary, in Latin America complete subordination of the armed forces to the state occurs rarely. The military constitutes a social body that is segregated from the rest of society and enjoys strong autonomy with regard to the state, although it may formally depend on the state. Segregation has led the armed forces to develop guidelines for socialization, norms, and values that differentiate and isolate them from civilian society. Their autonomy with regard to the state is manifested in their control over organizational forms of military education, and management of the budget. In cases where their own decision-making capacity is broader, autonomy is also expressed in the definition of mission and the doctrine of force, as well as in their ideological basis.

To establish a clear mission for the armed forces without their segregation from the rest of society--and without their acquiring unnecessary degrees of autonomy as a social actor--members of both the political class and the military should share a common view of what war and peace mean. This is exactly what does not happen in Latin America, where the actual design of military policy is left entirely in the hands of the armed forces. The only outcome has been constant theorizing about the military mission by military intellectuals, with few relevant practical results.

Despite their antidemocratic and antiliberal nature, the armed forces can come to be partners and trustees of a process of construction or reconstruction of democracies in Latin America if they accept that their political ideology tends to converge with that of the majority of society. The countries of the Southern Cone and Brazil do not appear to run the risk of new corporate intervention by the armed forces as long as the polyarchic game is maintained and each political actor respects the tacit agreement on the current socioeconomic and political system. This implies that opponents must act within clearly visible bounds of loyalty. The emergence of situations in which serious threats are perceived must not be permitted. The armed forces are especially sensitive to what can be perceived as a threat aimed directly at the corporation.

Keyword(s): Latin America; civil-military relations

Rial, Juan. "The Legitimacy of Military Intervention and the Option for Democracy in Latin America." Pages 67-120 in Military Interventions and Democracy. Ed., Jurgen Kuhlman. Munich: Sozialwissenschaftliches Institut der Bundeswehr, 1989.

In South America, most of the armed forces find their roots either in their respective countries' struggle for independence or directly in the colonial force. This past allows them to identify themselves as a substantial part of the process of construction of their states and, on the basis of this assumption, as guardians of the nation. The armed forces do not consider themselves to be a subordinate entity of the state or of society. They consider themselves above it, since they are its founders, guardians of the way of life and the lifestyles of the society and of the state. Despite the lack of confidence expressed by the officers of the majority of Latin American military forces with regard to democracy and liberalism, they have no other alternative than to sustain democratic values--even if attempts are made to deny liberalism and restrictively to qualify democracy. It could be said that almost all of the armed forces of Latin America have a vested interest in preserving democracy as a transcendent myth, in the sense of supporting the operation of representative institutions in line with principles of majority rule. There is, however, a much greater questioning of liberalism among members of the military forces and especially of jus-naturale positions as the basis of individual guarantees for the citizen. Furthermore, the operation of deliberative bodies--primarily parliament--may be questioned if legislative institutions are perceived as corrupt, demagogic or inefficient. Despite the fact that the armed forces are not only antidemocratic but also antiliberal, they can become partners and trustees of a process of construction or reconstruction of democracy in the countries of Latin America. Only belief in a myth can ensure a convergence between the armed forces and the political system as a whole. The attempt to reconstruct democracy implies having a myth and, thus far, not much progress has been made along that line. If this does not happen, the swing of the pendulum may lead to polar confrontations that exclude democratic actors from the political community as happened in Latin America in the 1970s.

Keyword(s): Latin America; civil-military relations

Rodriguez Landaeta, Franciso. "Nuevas y Tradicionales Orientaciones en la Concepcion de Seguridad en los Paises Latinoamericanos," Military Review (Spanish), 71, No. 1, February 1991, 11-26.

The article discusses old and new concepts of national security that have been developed by Latin American militaries and foreign policy specialists. The author identifies the geopolitical school and the doctrine of national security as the two most important tendencies of national security thinking among Latin American military strategists in the postwar era. The geopolitical school, formerly prevalent among South American armed forces, envisioned international relations as a territorial zero sum game characterized by constant conflict among neighboring states over strategic natural resources. The geopolitical school formulated national security in terms of interstate conflict. A second strain of hemispheric national security thinking incorporated the doctrine of national security originally developed by the United States and the former European colonial powers during the 1960s. The doctrine of national security defined national security in terms of ideological struggle against international communism, manifested externally as the Soviet military threat and internally as domestic subversion of weak democratic regimes. The doctrine of national security reoriented Latin American military operations toward internal warfare against radical civilian revolutionary movements and guerrilla insurgencies and served as justification for authoritarian military rule throughout much of the hemisphere from 1964 to 1989.

The author contends that the new pattern of economic multipolarity and East-West distension, combined with megatrends toward complex economic interdependence, have rendered prior models of Latin American national security obsolete. The author observes an emerging vision among Latin American leaders of a new regional security regime based on the concept of positive peace. Positive peace is premised on widespread redemocratization, regional disarmament and renewed development. The author concludes



that national security is increasingly being defined in developmentalist terms as a state's capacity to improve social equity amid sustained macroeconomic growth.

Keyword(s): Latin America; armed forces' missions and strategy

Rojas Aravena, Francisco. "Cooperacion Para la Seguridad Hemisferica Construyendo la Seguridad Cooperativa," Fuerzas Armadas y Sociedad [Santiago], 7, No. 2, April-June 1992, 14-23.

The end of the Cold War and the spread of democracy in Latin America require the formulation of a new collective security system among Latin American states. As Cold War-era defense agreements, such as the Treaty of Inter-American Reciprocal Assistance, become obsolete, concepts of hemispheric security are being devised that reflect newfound concerns for democracy and regional sovereignty. In accordance with this reappraisal of regional security, new roles and missions are being formulated for Latin America's armed forces. Regional collective security can be achieved by establishing six fundamental areas of cooperation: (1) reaffirmation of regional and hemispheric commitments to peaceful resolution of conflicts; (2) cooperation to deactivate border disputes; (3) preventive cooperation in combatting transnational terrorism through intelligence sharing; (4) technical and scientific cooperation in the study of natural resources; (5) cooperation in combatting new regional threats, including threats against the regional ecosystem; and, (6) cooperation in maintaining regional, hemispheric, and global security through participation in multilateral peacekeeping operations.

Keyword(s): Latin America; armed forces; missions and strategy

Rojas Vender, Fernando. "La Defensa Nacional," Politica y Estrategia [Santiago], No. 53, January-December 1990, 13-24.

The article is an analysis by a general of the Chilean air force on the roles and missions of the Chilean armed forces. The author maintains that the 1980 constitution establishes defense against foreign aggression and internal defense of public order as equally legitimate missions of the armed forces. Both missions are portrayed as necessary to protect democracy. The author notes that the constitution clearly forbids deliberation by the armed forces on political matters or any efforts by military personnel to influence public opinion on political issues. Given the present climate of East-West rapprochement and relative stability of inter-American relations, the author suggests that the armed forces should engage in activities that support the economic development of the nation. These include continuing development of a domestic weapons industry and conducting an array of research activities. Moreover, as the nation's infrastructure expands, the armed forces should be prepared to expand their defensive capabilities in order to ensure the security of a growing Chilean population, capital and infrastructure.

Keyword(s): Chile; armed forces' missions and strategy

Rojas, Patricio. "Discurso del Ministro de Defensa Nacional Sr. Patricio Rojas," Fuerzas Armadas y Sociedad [Santiago], 5, No. 4, October-December 1990, 12-14.

The article reproduces a discourse delivered by Chilean Minister of Defense Rojas on the occasion of the appointment of the new Head of the Military General Staff on 29 December 1990. The end of the Cold War and the lifting of military aid restrictions mandated by the Kennedy Amendment offer a variety of new opportunities for international military cooperation among Chile, the United States and traditionally friendly states of Europe such as Spain, France and the United Kingdom. Moreover, under the democratic regime, the Military General Staff is expected to serve as a catalyst for efforts to expand and improve civil-military relations, particularly through the promotion of academic exchanges and expanded consultation between civilians and military at the policy-making level. Moreover, there is a need for greater integration of the separate branches of the military through the development of joint operations capabilities. There is also a need to

rationalize roles and eliminate redundancy among the forces. Finally, there should be greater oversight and accounting of expenditures to optimize limited public resources. It is necessary to evaluate the effectiveness with which resources are used at all levels, especially in the areas of technical-scientific endeavors and professional formation of personnel.

Keyword(s): Chile; civil-military relations

Rojas, Patricio. "El Funcionamiento de las Fuerzas Armadas y del Ministerio de la Defensa Nacional en un Regimen Plenamente Democratico," Fuerzas Armadas y Sociedad [Santiago], 5, No. 2, 1990, 22-28.

The article reproduces a discourse by the Chilean Minister of Defense delivered before the Chilean Council of International Relations on 14 May 1990. Defense Minister Rojas outlines the Aylwin administration's general vision of civil-military relations and the role of the armed forces in a democratic regime. He argues that the Chilean Constitution of 1980 preserves the Chilean tradition of constitutional subordination of the military to political authority. The changing world order will inevitably require profound changes in the missions and strategy of the armed forces and a reappraisal of traditional military functions. Among the international challenges defining the future missions of the armed forces will be the maintenance of a Chilean presence in Antarctica, the fight against international narcotrafficking and narcoterrorism, the protection of Chilean maritime rights in the South Pacific, support for colonization of underpopulated areas within the national domain, and research and development. Greater emphasis must also be placed on technical skills development and specialization.

Keyword(s): Chile; civil-military relations; armed forces' missions and strategy

Romero, Anibal. America Latina: Militares, Integracion, y Democracia. Caracas: Universidad Simon Bolivar, Insituto de Altos Estudios de America Latina, 1989.

The book is divided into two sections: "Military Ideology and Latin American Integration" and "Three Studies on Venezuela." Section I examines Latin American military doctrine, civil-military relations and regional integration in democratic regimes; Section II analyzes several aspects of Venezuelan politics.

The author argues that future Latin American integration efforts should avoid linking the objective of integration with the separate goal of promoting democracy, because the consolidation of democracy in Latin America is by no means assured and continues to be reversible. Regional integration initiatives, if they are to last, should therefore not be conditioned on the internal character of political regimes. Furthermore, whereas concepts that are compatible with democracy have been developed in the fields of economics and sociology, no such democratic concept of Latin American national security has been devised by civilians.

Despite growing trends toward multilateralism, the primary concerns of Latin America's armed forces continue to revolve around national issues and the defense of the nation as an independent political entity. Latin American military literature displays generalized reservations with regard to integration efforts and "continentalism." Moreover, despite the virtual disappearance of the authoritarian national security state in Latin America, the essential components of the national security doctrine continue to exercise a significant influence on military ideology throughout the region.

Regarding Argentina's defeat in the Malvinas, the author argues that the Malvinas experience was a catalyst that generated a process of self-evaluation focusing on the need to improve Latin America's armed forces as instruments of combat (for conventional and nonconventional warfare) at the service of the state. The military subsequently sought to modernize, reprofessionalize and diversify their arms supply sources. Although as yet no overt conflict of security interests exists, the governments and military establishments of Latin America have achieved greater autonomy from the United States in security matters in the wake of the Malvinas war.

The end of the Cold War has introduced a strong element of uncertainty concerning the new missions of the armed forces, reflecting a trend toward region-wide structural unemployment of the military. Despite this trend, the author contends that the Brazilian and Argentine military continue to exert a strong bureaucratic and economic influence from within states governed by democratic regimes. The Peruvian military is seen as pursuing an eclectic concept of national security that incorporates reformist social welfare policies, whereas the Chilean military continues to pursue a conventional doctrine of national security based on anticommunism and "protected democracy."

Keyword(s): Latin America; armed forces' missions and strategy; civil-military relations

Rubio Correa, Marcial. "The Armed Forces in Peruvian Politics." Pages 35-45 in Democracy Under Siege: New Military Power in Latin America, Ed., Augusto Varas. Greenwood Press, 1989.

This chapter analyzes the role of the armed forces in the Peruvian political process from 1959 on, focusing on their formal relationship to the state, their capabilities, and the core concepts of their doctrine. The Peruvian constitution, Article 278, stipulates that where politics are concerned the armed forces are nondeliberative institutions subordinated to constitutional rule of law. But "nondeliberative" is an ambiguous concept. At present, Peru's institutional structure gives the armed forces substantial negotiating power in government circles. The military has significant independent policy-making capabilities that are sanctioned by law. By the same token, the capacity of civilian political authorities to control the armed forces and shape national policy making has declined. The military's burgeoning managerial and technical competence buttresses their influence in policy debates.

A number of arrangements that give the military significant participation in policy decisions have diminished the president's authority over the armed forces. These restraints on presidential authority

establish a contradiction between the constitutionally mandated powers of the presidency and the de facto power of the military, resulting from civilian politicians' inability to design alternative constitutional frameworks. Such frameworks need to reconcile the rule of law with the military's need to participate in national policy making. A reformed constitution would allow the military to contribute to national politics in a position subordinate to civilian authorities.

Keyword(s): Peru; civil-military relations

Rubio Correa, Marcial. "The Perception of the Subversive Threat in Peru." Pages 107-22 in The Military and Democracy: The Future of Civil-Military Relations in Latin America. Eds., Louis W. Goodman, Johanna S.R. Mendelson, and Juan Rial. Lexington: Lexington Books, 1990.

The writer examines civil-military relations within the framework of the subversion presently challenging Peru, the democratic nature of the government, and the role of the armed forces within the structure of the state. Recent democratic governments have taken Article 278 of the Peruvian constitution as a point of departure for civil-military relations: the armed forces and police forces have no political role to play. They are subject to the constitutional powers. This principle has traditionally been construed, within the rule of law, as meaning that the armed forces may have no political opinion.

Since 1980 successive constitutional governments have made the armed forces responsible for counterinsurgency. The strategic notion of fighting terrorism has assumed an important role for identifying civil-military relations in the framework of today's democratic-constitutional regimes. Even though the state's institutional structure has been redesigned and a unified Ministry of Defense has been created (which, at least in theory, allows larger political monitoring of the military apparatus), the military, through the political-military commands, retains an important role in the political rule of regions affected by terrorism. The performance of this function by the military has been a source of numerous clashes with

the civil government, whereby the subversive challenge is an important factor in defining the rules of the game within the democratic-constitutional context.

Democracy has not been structured in such a manner as to assign an adequate role to the armed forces. Under the constitution, the armed forces have nothing to say on the nation's issues. This fact seems to be inconsistent with a reality in which the military is an important part of the state or with the real power the armed forces have accumulated. From an institutional viewpoint, recent modifications to the state's defense structure enable the government to monitor defense policies effectively and assume the corresponding consequences. The responsibility for action in this area lies in the political sphere. This is an improvement on the previous state of affairs in which the Armed Forces Joint Command's decisions were, in an undemocratic manner, exempt from political control within the institutional framework.

In today's Peruvian politics, a basic aspect of the definition of civil-military relations is the perception of Shining Path and the need for a new counterinsurgency strategy. In the civilian sector, different initiatives have been advanced, none of which identifies fully with the military's counterinsurgency doctrine.

Keyword(s): Peru; civil-military relations

Saavedra Loyola, Juan. "Efectos de los Cambios Estrategicos Globales en Estados Unidos y America Latina: Comentario del Coronel de Aviacion Sr. Juan Saavedra Loyola," Fuerzas Armadas y Sociedad [Santiago], 5, No. 3, July-September 1990, 6-9.

The article is a commentary by an active duty Chilean Air Force Colonel on the theme of "establishing an ethic of national defense in democracy." Colonel Saavedra comments on the global implications of the decline of the East-West conflict and its implications for Chilean defense strategy. The author argues that the development-related objectives of Latin American states will at times generate contention leading to future conflict within the region. The threat of territorial aggression will require Chile to maintain an effective strategy of national defense for the

foreseeable future. Among future challenges to Chilean national security will be potential border disputes with Argentina, Bolivia, and Peru and continued rivalry with Argentina over Antarctica. Furthermore, the United States should be expected to intensify its pressure for Latin American military participation in the drug war. The drug war has become the Trojan horse with which the United States intends to preserve its traditional military influence in Latin America. The material aid that the United States renders to drug-fighting Latin American states such as Bolivia and Colombia may eventually upset the military balance in the region and lead to future tensions. Chile should therefore move cautiously when considering the issue of disarmament.

Keyword(s): Chile; armed forces' missions and strategy

Salazar T., Javier. "El Concepto de Seguridad Hemisferica en el Nuevo Escenario Mundial," Fuerzas Armadas y Sociedad [Santiago], 6, No. 3, July-September 1991, 1-11.

The article reproduces a speech by the director of Chile's National Academy of Political and Strategic Studies (Academia Nacional de Estudios Politicos y Estrategicos--ANEPE), Army Brigadier General Salazar Torres, delivered at the seminar, "Civil-Military Perspectives on the New Challenges to South American Security," sponsored by the Comision Sudamericana de Paz and held in Santiago on August 9, 1991. The author analyzes the general implications of the end of the Cold War for global security. Regarding hemispheric security, the author believes that Latin American international relations should be founded on a combination of realism and limited cooperation based on subregional pacts for small groups of states facing similar security challenges. Internal subversion and terrorism will continue to pose a threat as long as regional economies remain underdeveloped and a local, unreconstructed left seeks to impose violent revolutionary change. Divergent security perspectives will lead to conflicts of interest between South American states and the United States, as demonstrated by the United States attempt to militarize the drug war against the wishes of regional military institutions. National sovereignty should therefore take priority over



cooperation in cases where national interests are adversely affected.

Keyword(s): Chile; armed forces; missions and strategy

Santa Cruz, Alfonso (Ed.). Fuerzas Armadas, Estado y Sociedad: El Papel de las Fuerzas Armadas en la Futura Democracia Chilena. Santiago: Centro de Estudios del Desarrollo, 1989.

This volume compiles the results of an international seminar on the role of the armed forces in a future Chilean democracy. The participants in the seminar, held in Santiago in July 1988, were Chilean military officers, civilian experts on civil-military relations, and foreign military officers. Issues addressed include armed forces and external defense, continental defense, military expenditures, military industries, and various aspects of civil-military relations. The section on civil-military relations discusses the armed forces and the constitution of 1980, human rights, the military educational system, and strategies for integrating the armed forces within a democratic state.

Keyword(s): Chile; civil-military relations; armed forces' missions and strategy

Sauret, Hector, C. "Seguridad Interior y Responsabilidad Presidencial," Revista Argentina de Estudios Estrategicos [Buenos Aires], 6, No. 10, April-June 1989, 13-26.

The author provides a highly critical assessment of the Alfonsin administration's internal security policies and argues that maladministration of the national security apparatus has left the country indefensible both internally and externally. Moreover, the author contends that the military reform process implemented by the Alfonsin administration imposed excessive constraints on the armed forces' ability to combat internal subversion and terrorism, which are considered to be natural and permanent aspects of Argentine politics. The author calls for restoration of the organic concept of national

security that grants the armed forces the resources and authority to combat insurgency as one of its primary missions.

Keyword(s): Argentina; armed forces' missions and strategy

Sohr, Raul. "Poder Militar: Entre la Obediencia y la Deliberacion," Apsi [Santiago], 15, No. 352, June 1990 (special issue), 22-26.

The article analyzes the attitude of the various branches of the Chilean armed forces toward civilian political authority, comparing their institutional histories and relative size and strength. The author contends that the army has historically been the most powerful, politically active and internally authoritarian service. The navy has been moderately politicized, whereas the air force has been the least politicized and most professional armed branch. The author contends that certain sectors of the military continue to adhere to an authoritarian vision of society in which the armed forces are perceived as a parallel power or fourth branch of government, rather than as functionaries of the executive branch.

Keyword(s): Chile; civil-military relations

Sohr, Raul. "Narcotrafico y Fuerzas Armadas," Notas de Paz/Presna [Santiago], December 1991, Comision Sudamericana de Paz, 1-2.

Sohr writes a brief essay on Latin American armed forces' involvement in narcotics interdiction. He questions the disproportionate commitment of resources by the United States toward reducing supply and considers United States efforts to reduce demand inadequate.

The participation of Latin American armed forces in drug interdiction is counterproductive because: (1) the use of military force has alienated Andean coca growers and has provoked a strengthening of their ties to guerrilla insurgencies; (2) direct involvement of the armed forces threatens the institutional integrity of the forces and

democratic regimes themselves by exposing the military to infiltration and corruption.

Ad hoc police units should be assembled for intelligence gathering and administration of ameliorative social programs. A greater proportion of United States resources should be allotted for domestic drug rehabilitation programs.

Keyword(s): Latin America; armed forces' missions and strategy

Storaker Molina, Patricio. "El Rol del Poder Naval," Revista de Marina [Valparaiso], 107, No. 796, May-June 1990, 268-74.

The article by a Chilean navy captain discusses current uses of naval power in peacetime and wartime. One of the peacetime missions of navies such as Chile's is to safeguard maritime economic interests through the protection of living and mineral resources within the 200-mile exclusive economic zone. Third World navies should be equipped to establish a permanent and highly visible presence within the zone in order to deter the extraction of national resources by foreign enterprises. Peacetime navies also play a supporting role in foreign policy, serving as symbols of a nation's resolve to defend vital geostrategic interests in an essentially conflictual international order. The author concludes that, through its conventional deterrence capability, the Chilean navy assists in keeping the peace among South American states and upholding international law.

Keyword(s): Chile; armed forces' missions and strategy

Storani, Conrado. "The National Defense Debate: Introduction." Pages 25-52 in Seminario Internacional de Defensa. Buenos Aires: Fundacion Sergio Karakachoff, 1989.

Parliamentary deputy Storani delivered the introductory address at the Seminar on National Defense of the Foundation for the Study of National Issues (FUTENA) in Buenos Aires in 1988. He identifies emerging challenges

for Argentine defense policy and outlines the Union Civica Radical party's national security strategy.

Among the new security challenges facing Argentina are (1) the growing geopolitical significance of the South Atlantic and Antarctica, and the defense of Argentine jurisdictional rights in the region; (2) the growing economic significance of the Pacific rim and Argentina's need to maintain access to the Pacific; and (3) settlement of thinly populated border areas experiencing demographic invasion by neighboring countries. New military strategies must replace the national security doctrine, which bureaucratized and politicized the military, rendering it organizationally and materially unprepared for external warfare in the Malvinas.

A primary component of the Union Civica Radical's defense policy is the restoration of an institutional balance in civil-military relations and the subordination of service commanders to civilian political authority represented by the president of the republic and the minister of defense. Defense is therefore not restricted to operational matters, but requires a model for the incorporation of the armed forces into society. Security is also enhanced by effective social and economic policies.

Keyword(s): Argentina; national security; Argentina; civil-military relations

Taufic, Camilo. "FFAA Latinoamericanas Perdieron la Guerra Fria," Analisis [Santiago], August 19-25, 1991, 46-49.

This article analyzes the effects of the end of the Cold War on Latin America's armed forces. The author argues that the advanced nations of the Group of Seven have developed an international strategy to reduce arms transfers to the Third World and to apply economic pressure to reduce military expenditures in developing states. Having lost their Cold War mission of combatting international and domestic communism, Latin America's armed forces are now being persuaded by the United States to abandon the doctrine of national security and restructure their armed forces to fulfill new missions against narcotrafficking and international terrorism. The

author argues that Latin American reaction to the new initiative can be found in the work of academic centers such as the South American Commission for Peace (Comision Sudamericana de Paz), which regularly sponsors seminars on regional security and civil-military relations. Recent papers delivered at these seminars demonstrate an ambivalent attitude among military officials, some of whom consider the United States initiative for military reform as inappropriate interference in domestic affairs. Some military officers are also warning of an emerging pattern of "technological apartheid" by advanced states against Third World militaries.

Keyword(s): Chile; armed forces' missions and strategy

Thauby Garcia, Fernando. "Evolucion de la Cuenca del Pacifico," Revista de Marina [Valparaiso], 106, No. 793, November-December 1989, 641-43.

The author analyzes the history of international geostrategic and economic pacts among the nations of the Pacific Rim, projecting Chile's role in a future Pacific economic bloc. The author argues that the relaxation of East-West tensions provides an opportunity to create a new regional organization that would promote trade, investment, and development assistance. Such an organization could conceivably serve as a vehicle through which to integrate Chile into a future Pacific community comparable to the European community of nations, thereby assuring Chile's access to Asian markets and investment. The author contends that, in order to be considered a legitimate economic power in the region, Chile must expand its transportation and communications links to the Eastern Pacific through expanded development of Easter Island. The Chilean navy will have important strategic and political roles to play in promoting Chilean integration with the Pacific. For Chilean influence to be effectively projected into the region, the navy must assist in transforming Easter Island into an internationally recognized entrepot between South America and the Eastern Pacific.

Keyword(s): Chile; armed forces' missions and strategy

Thauby Garcia, Fernando. "Pensamiento Politico-Estrategico en Chile: Su Evolucion Desde una Perspectiva Naval," Revista de Marina [Valparaiso], 107, No. 798, September-October 1990, 465-78.

The author conceptualizes the history of Chilean strategic naval doctrine in terms of four distinct historical periods: autochthonous strategy (1810-91), continental European strategy (1891-1932), strategy resonant with global conditions (1932-73) and transition strategy (1973-90). The first period of autochthonous strategy is characterized by a sui generis military doctrine derived from the experiences of four regional conflicts and a civil war. The second period of continental European strategy witnesses the professionalization of the armed forces according to continental European models of military professionalism. The third period of resonant strategy is characterized by the internalization of global conflicts, specifically World War II and the Cold War, as well as a sharp segregation and marginalization of the military from civilian society. The author contends that this period was one of marked neglect of the armed forces by civilian society, combined with degeneration of the political culture and its complete breakdown in the early 1970s. The final period of transition is characterized by reconstitution of the institutional order by the armed forces and heightened geopolitical tensions with neighboring states.

The author observes variations in civil-military relations over the time frame being considered, ranging from symbiosis and integration between 1810 and 1891, to growing isolation from 1891 to 1932, and, finally, segregation and conflict of interests from 1932 to 1973. Military takeover and transformation of the institutional order between 1973 and 1989 were considered to have restored the balance between civilian-political and military-national security interests. The author recommends that civilian-military integration be undertaken through academic dialogue and joint military-civilian national security training. Only through mutual confidence-building measures can civilian-military "apartheid" be surmounted and a consensual national security strategy of effective deterrence be developed.

Keyword(s): Chile; armed forces' missions and strategy; civil-military relations

Tomic Errazuriz, Esteban. "Nuevas Perspectivas de las Relaciones Politicas y Estrategicas entre los Países de America del Sur," Fuerzas Armadas y Sociedad [Santiago], 6, No. 3, July-September 1991, 12-20.

The author provides an overview of the development and security-related challenges facing South American states during the 1990s. The general theme of the article is the struggle for the creation of a common regional identity and the elaboration of common economic and political interests as a necessary first step toward economic and political integration. Regarding common security challenges, the author proposes that the end of the Cold War and the end of regional border conflicts offer an opportunity for Latin America's armed forces to assume the role of guardians of civilian-democratic political systems. A process of military integration and confidence-building would make reductions in military expenditures possible and desirable. Joint units may be assembled to combat transnational threats such as narcotrafficking and terrorism.

Keyword(s): South America; armed forces; missions and strategy

Traslavina, Hugo. "Gasto en Defensa: Sin Tijeras Para Cortar," Apsi [Santiago], 15, No. 361, 53-54.

The article discusses obstacles to reducing military expenditures in the wake of the issuance of the Organic Laws of the Armed Forces by the outgoing Pinochet government. The Organic Laws have exempted a large part of the military budget from revision by political authorities, making it virtually impossible to reduce significantly or restructure military expenditures in the near future. Given that personnel-related costs, which account for 80 percent of the military budget, are frozen at 1988 levels, the president and congress are able to reduce expenditures only at the margins. The inflexibility of the military budget impedes implementation of the Ministry of Defense's military policy and prevents optimal use of public resources.

Keyword(s): Chile; civil-military relations

Varas, Augusto. "Military Autonomy and Democracy in Latin America." Pages 1-15 in Democracy Under Siege: New Military Power in Latin America. Augusto Varas (ed.), New York: Greenwood Press, 1989.

In the 1980s most Latin American authoritarian regimes experienced sustained political liberalization and democratization. It seems clear that civilian democratic forces will play a much larger role in the coming decade than in the last. It is equally evident that in Latin America the armed forces will retain a considerable share of political power. Even with the advance of democratization, they will most likely not content themselves with the roles they played before becoming so deeply involved in politics. Instead of immersing themselves in purely professional matters, these armed forces retain significant political influence in the newly installed democratic regimes. Regardless of the constitutional arrangement, they continue with a high level of institutional prerogatives to exercise some kind of power over civilian political forces.

A number of factors have contributed to difficulties in the maintenance of civilian control over Latin American military establishments. These include the armed forces' new political-military roles, their acquisition of more sophisticated technology, and the new framework of international military relations. The difficulties civilian governments are experiencing in controlling "their" militaries largely derive from institutional changes within the armed forces themselves. The scope and importance of government mediation, which tends to moderate militarism, has been reduced. Latin American armed forces are now able to establish international connections without much governmental supervision. These transnational links become transmission belts for the transfer of arms, ideologies, and economic and strategic interests from a diverse range of extraregional military establishments.

Civilians will be able to dominate the armed forces to the degree that political groups and social classes establish hegemony over the state. For civilians to control the military, broad social coalitions espousing coherent policies will have to take charge of complex, corporate Latin American states. Otherwise the military will retain varying measures of autonomy. In sum, the Latin American



military establishment's level of autonomy depends on two major factors: the state's capacity to establish effective control over military institutions (their ideological and material development) and their budget; and the extent to which the military has developed its corporate awareness--the product of professional modernization and segregation from society.

Keyword(s): Latin America; civil-military relations

Varas, Augusto. "Civil-Military Relations in a Democratic Framework." Pages 199-218 in The Military and Democracy: The Future of Civil-Military Relations in Latin America. Eds. Louis W. Goodman, Johanna S.R. Mendelson, and Juan Rial. Lexington: Lexington Books, 1990.

The use and abuse of the armed forces in the political realm in Latin America has left a negative balance in terms of their stability and institutional development. In turn, the democratic stabilization projects put into place in the region after military interventions have been basically faulty in the sphere of military policy.

To the extent that Latin American democracies fail to perceive clearly the issue of the armed forces' insertion in the democratic process and to identify the role of national defense in their reform projects, a key problem will remain unresolved. This, in turn, soon becomes a threat to democratic institutions themselves, either through new forms of autonomous adjustment or renewed military interventions.

The behavior and interactions among the armed forces, civilians, and the state occur in the context of three systems: intervention-withdrawal, autonomous adjustment, and civilian control.

A new formula for civil-military relations in Latin America is a crucial issue in an agenda for democracy. To a large extent, these new civil-military relations would depend on the ability of civil society to develop a theoretical framework consistent with the new realities. It should identify the necessary conditions of restored balance: democratic civilian unity, embracing even those

elites that originally supported the military government; isolation of the antiestablishment forces that legitimate internal security functions; effective mass support within institutional boundaries that does not engender new crisis; restoration of institutional balance by emphasizing the professional unity of the armed forces; abandonment by the military of governmental and internal security tasks; moral recovery of the armed forces, including a clear perception of the identity between constitutionalism and democracy; and a new civil-political culture.

Civilian control over the armed forces would be assured through the development of new concepts that can be the basis for a new, modern approach to national defense: professionalization, with strong technological content; integration of the war materiel productive functions of the Latin American armed forces; and a new formula for the military's professional links with the United States.

Keyword(s): Latin America; civil-military relations

Varas, Augusto. "Democratization and Military Reform in Argentina." Pages 47-64 in Democracy Under Siege: New Military Power in Latin America. Ed., Augusto Varas. New York: Greenwood Press, 1989.

Because Argentina's fledgling democracy has met with resistance, especially within the armed forces, it stands out as a critical case for understanding the process of democratic consolidation in Latin America. So far, the government's attempts to submit the military to tight civilian control have succeeded, but the military have also begun to resist that control. President Raul Alfonsin's administration took quick, decisive action to keep the situation in hand; nevertheless, the Alfonsin administration prudently avoided radical antimilitary policies.

Two factors compound the difficulties of Argentina's democratic regime. First, the military institution that the regime seeks to bring under control reached the highest degree of autonomy of any in Latin America. Second, because the armed forces themselves largely

carried out the repression against civilians in the so-called "dirty war," the government had to deal with a very sensitive human rights issue.

The Alfonsín administration's reform proposals turned on the need to reprofessionalize the armed forces. Thus, modernizing the doctrine of national security became one of its principal goals. The government's military reform policies strove to: (1) reduce military prerogatives, especially in budgetary matters, and to halve military expenditures; (2) modify the structure and content of military education; and (3) transfer industries previously controlled by the armed forces to the Ministry of Defense, thus placing them under the direction of civilians.

In the final analysis, the military accepted the democratic regime's policies, which were designed to establish civilian control over them, revamp their command structure, and reduce their share of the national budget. However, an intense confrontation between the military and the new democratic regime developed over the human rights issue. The military accepted reforms primarily geared to modernizing the institution. However, they rejected reforms that attacked their nonnegotiable corporate principles, such as blind obedience and strict observance of hierarchy in decision-making processes.

Keyword(s): Argentina; civil-military relations

Varas, Augusto. "The Crisis of Legitimacy of Military Rule in the 1980s." Pages 71-97 in The Struggle for Democracy in Chile: 1982-90. Ed., Paul W. Drake and Ivan Jaksic. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1991.

In Chile, as the 1980s progressed, the Pinochet regime was unable to obtain the mass electoral support it needed to achieve legitimacy and win the plebiscite of 1988. The regime's legitimation crisis produced a negative view among the public of the armed forces and their political role in Chile. That view became especially critical when members of the armed forces implied that they expected to maintain certain institutional prerogatives in future fiscal, political, and human rights matters. If those prerogatives were to become institutionalized, the

military would risk a collision with important sectors of public opinion, which could prolong tensions between civilians and the armed forces even after the 1989 presidential elections and the inauguration of the new government on March 11, 1990. The resolution of these tensions presents the new democratic government with a challenge that will be critical to meet for Chile's political future. Similarly, the military needs to relegitimize its institutional functions and tasks in order to capture civilian support and thus bring political stability to the nation. One of the most important tasks for military relegitimation will be to attract the support of Chile's youth, the center, and the left. Because these segments of the population are the least supportive of the military, the social and political integration of the country depends on an understanding between the armed forces and these civilian groups. The new government and the armed forces will have to provide imaginative solutions in order to bring together important segments of the nation.

Keyword(s): Chile; civil-military relations

Varas, Augusto. "The Latin American Military and Democratic Government." Pages 121-51 in Military Interventions and Democracy. Ed., Jurgen Kuhlman. Munich: Sozialwissenschaftliches Institut der Bundeswehr, 1989.

Democratic stability in Latin America will depend on the ability of the civilian sector to prevent military incursions in politics, to restrict military institutions to their professional roles, and to contain their proclivity to keep indirect political control. However, at the same time, the wisdom shown by the civilian sector in tackling military and security issues and in working out these mutual problems will be decisive. The latter will also legitimize civilian leadership and control of the military during the process of democratic stabilization. The main factor in restoring and stabilizing democratic governments is the civilian leadership of the military in its own professional field. Institutional continuity, avoidance of internal crisis, and a new internal consensus can only be provided by a new emphasis on the professional role of the military. The expansion of roles in the

nonmilitary field should be avoided and professionalization strengthened. However, enhancing military professional roles without reendangering regional peace is also crucial. Finding a solution to this contradiction is the most important and urgent collective task for the military, civilians, and democrats in Latin America.

Keyword(s): Latin America; civil-military relations

Vega H., Ramon. "Discurso del Sr. Jefe del Estado Mayor de la FACH General de Aviacion Ramon Vega H. en la Inauguracion del Centro de Estudios Aeronauticos y del Espacio," Fuerzas Armadas y Sociedad [Santiago], 6, No. 2, April-June 1991, 36-41.

The article reproduces a speech by the chief of staff of the Chilean air force, General Ramon Vega Hidalgo delivered on May 14, 1991 on the occasion of the inauguration of the Center for Aeronautical and Space Studies (Centro de Estudios Aeronauticos y del Espacio--CEADE). The creation of the CEADE represents an initiative of the high command in the pursuit of research and development in the aerospace field. The air force must commit itself to a systematic study of the potential applications of space technology, particularly those of communications, meteorology and cartography. Moreover the air force is committed to continuing research and development in the aircraft industry through its participation in the National Aeronautical Enterprise (Empresa Nacional de Aeronautica--ENAER) which has developed and successfully marketed the Pillan aircraft. The CEADE will also serve as a research facility for strategic studies of air and space power.

Keyword(s): Chile; armed forces; missions and strategy

Vega Hidalgo, Ramon. "La Vision Estrategica de la Fuerza Aerea de Chile en el Nuevo Entorno Regional y Mundial," Fuerzas Armadas y Sociedad [Santiago], 6, No. 4, September-October 1991, 64-71.

The article reproduces a discourse by the commander in chief of the Chilean air force, General Ramon Vega Hidalgo, delivered before the Chilean Council on International Relations on September 30, 1991. The author argues that profound changes in the global order do not eliminate the fundamental reality of conflicts of interest between states and the possibility of violent confrontation. Moreover, global change should have no significant effect on Chile's regional defense strategy. The key to the maintenance of an effective aerial deterrent will be the acquisition of modest quantities of high technology equipment and the development of superior technical skills among personnel. The Persian Gulf War demonstrated the importance of quality of equipment and training over quantity. Moreover, space technology, particularly satellite communications and remote sensing, were central to the allied victory in the Gulf. Consequently, the long-term strategy of the Chilean air force should be to embark upon efforts to acquire space technology through transfer and the development of a domestic aerospace industry. The development of space technology must occur within the framework of a permanent agency in Chile for the exploration and exploitation of space.

Keyword(s): Chile; armed forces' missions and strategy

Vega Hidalgo., Ramon. "Discurso del Comandante en Jefe de la FACH en el Anniversario Institucional," Fuerzas Armadas y Sociedad [Santiago], 7, No. 1; January-March 1992, 42-46.

The article reproduces a speech by the commander in chief of the Chilean air force, General Ramon Vega Hidalgo, delivered on the sixty-second anniversary of the Chilean air force. Among the contemporary missions of the air force, the author mentions aerial mapping, interpretation of satellite meteorological data, remote sensing of environmental degradation, and the establishment of a telecommunications link with Chile's Antarctic base. Among the environmental problems that require closer monitoring are deterioration of the ozone, air pollution, climactic change, and the accelerated breakup of Antarctic ice sheets.

Keyword(s): Chile; armed forces' missions and strategy

Vergara Villalobos, Miguel A. "Algo Por Que Luchar: El Control del Mar," Revista de Marina [Valparaiso], 106, No. 791, July-August 1989, 362-67.

The article discusses several tactical and strategic aspects of naval power. The author contends that naval power should be exercised in peacetime as well as wartime, through regular patrolling of territorial waters and the 200-mile exclusive economic zone. Such peacetime patrolling is intended to protect the nation's oceanic living and mineral resources from foreign exploitation and environmental degradation as well as to defend against potential subversive threats from the sea. Moreover, a naval presence can serve valuable geostrategic and economic functions in peacetime as well as wartime. The author calls for greater public awareness of the navy's peacetime missions.

Keyword(s): Chile; armed forces' missions and strategy

Villalobos, Edgardo. "Las Reformas Militares en Espana: Comentario del Coronel de Aviacion Edgardo Villalobos," Fuerzas Armadas y Sociedad [Santiago], 5, No. 4, October-December 1990, 8-9.

The article is a commentary by Chilean Air Force Colonel Edgardo Villalobos on the implications for Chile of Spanish military reforms. The article argues that military doctrines are not transferable in their entirety, but must be adapted to specific national circumstances. An important difference between Spanish and Chilean military doctrine arises over the issue of professional versus occupational concepts of military service. The Chilean military continues to value its professional nature and does not intend to incorporate an occupational concept of military service. Moreover, with respect to military cutbacks as an element of military reform, the Aylwin/Concertacion government's arguments for reduced military spending are faulty because they are based on a false dichotomy that creates a zero-sum-option between

military expenditures and social spending. The reality is that, because of the Chilean armed forces' various development-related functions, Chilean expenditures represent a simultaneous investment in a variety of development-related activities. The air force, for example, is an important component of the nation's civil aviation capability. Moreover, the air force, in conjunction with the navy, play a pivotal role in maintaining supply routes to Easter Island and to Chile's bases in Antarctica.

Keyword(s): Chile; armed forces' missions and strategy

Wagner Tizon, Alan. "Paz, Desarme y Desarrollo en America del Sur," Estudios Internacionales [Santiago], 23, No. 85, January-March 1989, 3-9.

This article is an analysis of changing strategic concepts of security in South America. The author argues that concepts of national security based on geopolitics and the doctrine of national security are being replaced by models of shared security through regional integration and disarmament. Among the trends noted are increased communication and exchange among politicians, the military, and the academic community over security-related issues and a growing awareness of the interrelationships between democracy, development, and national security. Among the obstacles to regional disarmament and integration have been the increase in regional defense expenditures and the uncoordinated development of competing national defense industries. The primary challenge is thus one of control of conventional and nuclear weapons proliferation.

Keyword(s): South America; civil-military relations

Waisbord, Silvio. "Politics and Identity in the Argentine Army: Cleavages and the Generational Factor," Latin American Research Review, 26, No. 2, 1991, 157-170.

The article examines the emergence of ideological differences between middle- and senior-level officers in



the Argentine army and their implications for civil-military relations. Waisbord analyzes the origins of a new generation of middle-ranking officers who have been highly critical of the high command's management of civil-military affairs, particularly the high command's perceived failure to defend the institution from attacks by civilian authorities and the media.

The identity of middle-ranking officers is strongly rooted in three sources: the classic corporate logic of the Argentine army, the officers' direct involvement in state-sponsored terrorism from 1975 to 1979, and the Malvinas War of 1982. Middle-ranking officers continue to adhere to the doctrine of national security and continue to perceive the army's mission primarily in terms of solving internal conflicts.

Keyword(s): Argentina; military factionalism

Welch, Claude E., Jr. "Military Disengagement from Politics: Paradigms, Processes, or Random Events," Armed Forces and Society, 18, No. 3, Spring 1992, 323-42.

Although no paradigm for the study of military disengagement from politics and subsequent liberalization and democratization has emerged and been widely embraced by scholars, patterns have been discerned in regionally based analyses. The article examines common themes (abrupt versus phased withdrawal, impact of professionalism, attitudes of senior officers, levels of national unity, and the effect of rapid delegitimation on military governments), areas of disagreement (military training and mission, economic factors, internal disorder, and gradual versus revolutionary change), and areas for further research (intramilitary attitudes, political culture, and hypothesis-testing case studies).

Keyword(s): Latin America; civil-military relations

Yang, Dong Hoon. "The Military and the Politics of Democratization in South America: A Comparative Study." (Ph.D dissertation, The University of Texas at Austin,

1989.) Austin: Dissertation Abstracts International, AAC8920877.

Yang examines transitions from military-authoritarian to civilian-democratic regimes in Argentina and Brazil. He analyzes transitions in terms of moments and processes of authoritarian deterioration, liberalization, authoritarian breakdown, democratic installation, and democratization.

As military factionalism, political legitimacy crisis, and military antipolitics increase and/or combine, the stability of a military authoritarian regime decreases. As the costs of political repression and power maintenance increase, the likelihood of a military authoritarian government liberalizing the political system increases, as does the prospect for political regime change. As a government's self-confidence decreases, so an opposition's capacity for dissent or contestation increases, thereby leading to regime breakdown. Differentials in self-confidence may determine modes of regime breakdown--collapse, extrication, and transaction.

The author concludes that three fundamental conditions for democratic installation are (1) the formation of a broad, deep democratic coalition; (2) elite agreement, particularly between authoritarians and democrats; and (3) the military's political inaction, neutrality, or consent. These conditions vary according to modes of democratic installation: (1) replacement, (2) alteration, and (3) reform. In initial democratization, civil-military relations, military contestation in particular, and prospects for civilian control depend upon the extent of political repression under military authoritarianism and the intensity of the democratic mandate that the democratizing government gains in elections.

The institutionalization of postmilitary democracy depends upon a history of civil-military relations, the politics of democratization (democratic mandate, political centralism, and participation), political economy, and levels of socioeconomic development.

Zagorski, Paul W. Democracy vs. National Security: Civil-Military Relations in Latin America. Boulder, Colorado: Lynne Rienner, 1992.

As civil-military relations continue to impinge on popular democratic development in Latin America in the 1990s, this comparative study of the difficult transitional period of the 1980s provides a useful overview. The author foresees a new era of "post-national security state," halfway between direct military rule and consensual civilian democracy, wherein the Latin American military increasingly controls policy areas previously in the civilian sphere. The study focuses on five countries (Argentina, Brazil, Chile, Peru, and Uruguay) and four major policy areas or "flashpoints" (human rights, internal security, and reform of the military and of the state) where military interests run counter to the consolidation of democracy. Various hypotheses are considered (but not tested), and some cases are more extensively treated. Particularly interesting is the case study on Peru's Sendero Luminoso and internal security policy. A readable summary and synthesis of the leading literature on civil-military relations.

Keyword(s): Latin America; civil-military relations